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19 November 1984

LATIN AMERICA REPORT

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ARGENTINA

STUDENTS HOLD ELECTIONS; IMPACT ON 1985 ELECTIONS VIEWED

Sociology Department Vote

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 5 Oct 84 p 6

[Text] Expectations were running high yesterday in the Sociology Department at Buenos Aires University, where, as we reported, today marks the beginning of the elections at which the new authorities of the student center will be chosen.

The peaceful political coexistence among the six competing groups has led to a calm atmosphere, as we noticed from a brief swing through the department's facilities in a section of the Architecture and Urban Development building at University City in Nunez.

This has not, however, detracted from the enthusiasm with which students have been conducting the election campaign. Posters have often been placed on top of each other, suggesting that some groups are trying to overshadow others in setting forth their proposals, which appear in large letters over the various colors of youth organizations.

Expectations

The campaign has been virtually dominated by the Intransigent University Youth (JUI), which now runs the center in the person of Eduardo Torres, who is seeking reelection.

The Intransigent leader, who was in a good mood, noticed that a Franja Morada pamphlet had been furtively stuck to his back; he then noted that "this shows the prevailing goodwill, above and beyond our political differences."

He underscored that the voting list numbers some 1,000 and that the turnout would be very high if the trend in the most recent elections continues. "The last elections were our first," he added, "because we sociology students used to be under the center of the Philosophy and Letters Department."

The president seeking reelection also indicated that "over the past year the JUI has worked basically to strengthen the center and, with the participation of students, to struggle for trade union grievances." He said, among other things, that "all first-year applicants were accepted in 1984, there was an 85 percent turnover in faculty and requirements were abolished so that students can take whatever subjects they want, without restrictions, on a year-to-year basis."

On behalf of the Sociology Students Front (FES), Horacio Alberto Silva explained that the front comprises University Peronist Youth, Rank-and-File Peronist Group (APB), Unity Group (communists) and the Independent Sociology Group. "It is a front that works to consolidate participatory democracy," he added. He stated that "unfortunately, the other political groups cannot join. The front endures, regardless of what each organization does on its own."

Samuel Herman, from Franja Morada-National Coordinating Board, indicated that its candidate for president is Silvio Massaro, noting that the Radical Party's university arm is offering a platform for real change. What are we offering? he asked. "We want a new program of studies, a curriculum that takes Argentine and Latin American social realities into account, a flexible system of related course work, a language requirement and the rest electives in Spanish for rural sociology work..."

Julio Mey, from the Movement Towards Socialism (MAS), felt that students have no alternative to his group in these elections "unless they want to vote for the parties that back the government. They all belong to the Multiparty Group, which says it all. I think that the election is between the Intransigents and Franja, although the Front seems to carry some weight."

Quantum Wins in Engineering

Buenos Aires SOMOS in Spanish 12 Oct 84 p 26

[Article by Luis F. Torres]

[Text] After being on Franja Morada's heels for 2 years, the independents in Quantum have won the student elections in the Engineering Department. The victory of the independent slate marked the first major defeat for the Radical Party in the university, inasmuch as it has lost the leadership of a student center that has weight of its own on a national level. Franja Morada's convention had a great deal to do with its setback, inasmuch as it failed to reach agreements with the Coordinator and they thus had to run separately. This split unquestionably helped to boost support for Quantum. From the winners' platform, Alejandro de Leon (25, 6th year of electromechanical engineering) explained last weekend's victory to SOMOS. "We won because of the work we did during the year, not because of the split in Franja. Students were able to see in our notes, scholarships and other accomplishments that

our goal is to improve conditions and that we have not gotten caught up in a futile struggle for power," asserted the head of Quantum and the new president of the student center. De Leon trusts that he will be able to keep his campaign pledges: "We want to reach an agreement, have some sort of common ground on an agenda so that we have a unified approach with the other groups. We want people to dissent, to voice their own views but we don't want systematic opposition just because some are at odds with others." With regard to Quantum's political leanings, De Leon is categorical: "We are not apolitical, as some would have us appear. Each of us has preferences, but we do things according to what's best for the students, not because this or that doctrine says so. For all these reasons we do not want a university that is an island. We want a university that offers answers to the country's problems."

The Numbers

The vote count, which concluded on Saturday the 6th, confirmed people's premonitions. Quantum garnered 1,726 votes out of a total of 5,321 (the list of students able to vote numbers 13,000). This total gave it the presidency of the center (La Linea Recta, 90 years old and the only one in the country with legal status) and 3 secretariats. Franja Morada got 1,344 votes (3 secretariats), and the Coordinator, which ran separately from Franja, came in behind the Intransigents (684 votes, 2 secretariats) with 647 votes, which gives it 1 representative in the center's leadership.

The liberals from the UPAU received 460 votes and won one seat in the center, while the Peronists (running in a coalition with the communists) got 260 votes and also placed one representative among student leaders. "This confirms that the party does not attract young people, which clouds its future," wrote Andrea Marmolejo in the daily *AMBITO FINANCIERO* on Monday the 8th.

Before the balloting, both factions of the Radical Party confided to SOMOS that the split would cost them the leadership of the center, blaming each other for having taken unyielding stands. Hernan Lombardi (24, 6th year of civil engineering), the head of Franja Morada, told SOMOS that "the party's convention should not have an impact on our movement. In the event that differences arise, they should be worked out by balloting, not by hand-picking." A reply was not long in coming; Rogelio Rey Leyes (25, 5th year of electrical engineering), the header of the Coordinator, explained: "We had been working together until last year, but they were gradually pushing us out. The split came in Tucuman when they acted on their own."

Amid the uproar of the battle for votes and the frustrations of the losers, the leaders of Quantum plan for the future: "We want to achieve unity among progressive independents, among those who want a university that is part of society, not an isolated university."

Franja Morada Loses Ground

Buenos Aires SOMOS in Spanish 19 Oct 84 pp 14-15

[Article by Tabare Aréas: "Shuffle and Redeal"]

[Text] When the eventful year 1983 was at its midpoint, with all of the parties' campaigns in full swing, the elections in the university student centers were regarded as a barometer for the vote on 30 October. At that time, Franja Morada, the Radical Party's university arm, controlled 8 of the 13 departments at Buenos Aires University, and Alfonsín ultimately wound up on top in the national balloting.

Twelve months later, the elections in the student centers have a different look to them, a look that points to major changes in the political leanings of students compared to a year ago. One question is in order here: Is this change a reflection of what is going on among the national electorate, as the parliamentary elections draw near?

The compelling arguments stemming from the numbers are that Franja Morada has been losing ground and that two ideologically antagonistic groups are clearly on the way up: Intransigent University Youth (JUI) and UPAU [Union for the University Opening].

This year the Radicals have lost elections in three centers that they controlled in 1983: engineering, philosophy and veterinary medicine, though they won in two others (odontology and pharmacy).

It is usually said that in the universities, as on the national level, Alfonsín's party is going to have to begin giving back the votes it borrowed from both the Left and Right in 1983, a phenomenon that the magnetic figure of Raul Alfonsín was responsible for and that sociologists and political observers are still trying to clarify. If the premise is true, as the decline in university support for the Peronists is a fact, then it is correct to conclude that the votes that the Left "lent" are gradually filtering back to the Intransigent Party and that the votes from the Right are settling out in the Liberal faction that Alvaro Alsogaray heads and that the UPAU usually represents.

There has been a striking decline (which we can explain in not too convoluted a way) among the Marxist, Maoist, Trotskyite or simply classist groups that had enjoyed some esteem among university activists over the past two decades. The votes of the electorate with leftwing ideas seem to be going to the Intransigent Party, which is strengthening its position today as the number two force in the University Federation of Buenos Aires, while the traditionally independent (or apolitical, as they used to be called) sectors seem to be leaning towards Liberal groups.

The final word has not been spoken yet, but there is another contrast between 1984 and 1983, the year of the great politicization. So far in 1984, only 30 percent of the 146,000 students registered in 11 of the 13 departments at Buenos Aires University have voted. Last year, more than half of the students eligible to vote went to the university polls and marked their ballots.

Agronomy, Registered: 8,000, Voted: 1,630

<u>Group</u>	<u>Orientation</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>Seats</u>
LAI	Independents	673	4
Franja Morada	Radicals	382	2
AGRAI	Leftwing Independents	249	2
JUI	Intransigents	201	1

Architecture, Registered: 10,000, Voted: 5,080

Franja Morada	Radicals	2,240	5
Alternative List	Intransigents	1,101	2
EADA	Independents	713	2
Unidad	Communists	434	1
FUNAP	Leftwing Peronists	272	1

Economic Sciences, Registered: 30,000, Voted: 8,631

Franja Morada	Radicals	3,039	5
JUI	Intransigents	1,646	2
UPAU	Centrists/Liberals	1,252	2
Nexo-Revaluo	Independents	943	1
Lista Celeste	Doctrinary Peronists	509	1
UNIRCE	Communists	354	1
CICE	Leftwing Independents	335	1

Law, Registered: 30,000, Voted: 6,429

Franja Morada	Radicals	1,711	5
UPAU	Centrists/Liberals	1,149	3
Jui-Lucha	Intransigents/Christian Democrats	1,044	3
Iustum	Independents	825	2
FENP	Doctrinary Peronists	493	1
Liberacion	Leftwing Peronsits	321	1

Pharmacy and Biochemistry, Registered: 3,800, Voted: 1,564

Franja Morada	Radicals	705	5
Alternative List	Intransigents	351	3
MIF and B	Leftwing Independents	227	2
Student Unity	Communists	116	1
Socialist List	Socialist	83	1

Philosophy and Letters, Registered: 7,000, Voted: 3,970

<u>Group</u>	<u>Orientation</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>Seats</u>
JUI	Intransigents	1,235	5
Franja Morada	Radicals	886	4
ELN	Leftwing Peronists	565	2
MAPU	Communists	408	1
NOBIS	Independents	293	1

Engineering, Registered: 17,000, Voted: 5,321

Quantum	Progressive Independents	1,726	4
Franja Morada, Eng	Leftwing Radicals	1,344	3
JUI	Intransigents	684	2
Franja Morada JCN	Radicals (Coordinator)	647	1
UPAU	Centrists/Liberals	460	1
FUNAP	Communists/Peronists	260	1

Medicine, Registered: 30,000, Voted: 6,433

Franja Morada	Radicals	2,342	5
Sinapsis	Progressive Independents	1,665	4
JUI	Intransigents	1,159	2
AEPU	Communists	534	1
FULNS	Leftwing Peronists	427	1

Odontology, Registered: 4,000, Voted: 1,650

Franja Morada	Radicals	1,032	6
EIFO	Leftwing Independents	407	3
JUI	Intransigents	195	1

Sociology, Registered: 1,200, Voted: 949

JUI	Intransigents	385	5
FES	Peronists/Communists	335	4
Franja Morada	Radicals	157	2

Veterinary Medicine, Registered: 5,000, Voted: 1,936

GESTAR	Leftwing Independents	675	3
LIVEI	Independents	619	3
Jui	Intransigents	342	2
Franja Morada	Radicals	236	1

A total of 43,413 students voted, out of 146,000 registered in 11 of the 13 departments or majors that hold elections.

8743

CSO: 3348/59

NATION TO EXCHANGE ARTISTS, SCIENTISTS, DOCTORS WITH CHINA

Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 1 Oct 84 p A-9

[Excerpt] Cultural exchange between the PRC and Chile has been progressing steadily in recent times thanks to the executive plan on this subject which was signed by both countries through their respective ministries of foreign relations.

As a part of this agreement we now have performing in Chile the acrobatic team from Guangdong (a province in the southern part of China, the country's gateway through the south); this is one of the most outstanding teams in its field. The group arrived in Chile in response to an invitation from the Chilean foreign office. It has visited many countries on five continents during its trip.

Antarctic and Social Sciences

During the coming months, we also expect the arrival of two delegations of Chinese scientists. A group of ten social science researchers will arrive this month. The purpose of its visit is to exchange experiences and ideas with their colleagues in Chile who will provide background for research done in this field. The researchers will be sponsored by the professors of the Social Sciences Institute of the University of Chile.

A group of Chinese scientists, who are experts in matters relating to the Antarctic, will visit Chile in November. They will be received by their Chilean colleagues. During their stay in Chile the scientists will have an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the Chilean Antarctic and with developments accomplished by Chile in that region.

Chileans going to China

In return, a group of Chileans will go to the PRC. It will include the lecturer Norman Cortes a professor of language and literature, who received an invitation from the Chinese Ministry of Education to go to that country with his fellow teachers for a year.

Today, Monday, 1 October, the musicians Alvaro Gomez and Routha Kroumovitch, will leave; both are violinists and they will be accompanied by the pianist

Luis Alberto Latorre, with whom they will share an artistic tour lasting a week in China, giving concerts in various cities.

According to Zhang Zuoji, the second secretary in charge of cultural affairs at the embassy of the PRC, the exchange in this field, in his judgment, has been very good recently and it is expected that it will be stepped up in the future.

The diplomat recalled with pleasure the development of the course in acupuncture given by the Chinese lady doctor Zhou Yunxian during the months of June to September. The specialist visited Chile in response to an invitation extended by the Paula Jaraquemada Hospital where she gave a course attended by 17 Chilean doctors from various regions. Dr. Zhou Yunxian so far has given more than ten courses on her specialty, mostly sponsored by the WHO, an agency under the UN.

Approximately 300 patients were taken care of during the acupuncture classes.

5058

CSO: 3348/43

STUDY ANALYZES 1982-1983 IMPORT, EXPORT BALANCES

Santiago ERCILLA in Spanish 17 Oct 84 pp 16-17

[Text] Based upon the statement made by the finance minister, Luis Escobar, before the recent devaluation the country's foreign trade was not generating sufficient foreign exchange to provide for a suitable percentage of the interest on the foreign debt, the minimal payment of which would be determined by the creditor banks' willingness to postpone collection of part of that interest. This made it necessary to expand the trade surplus through an increase in exports and an additional reduction in imports.

The success of these measures will depend on many factors, some of which will have a behavior difficult to predict now. Nevertheless, what occurred with similar measures during previous years may possibly shed more light on their future.

Since mid-1982, the country has greatly increased the exchange rate to give an incentive for exports and to cut imports. In addition, this latter goal has been aided by partial or general rises in tariffs, as well.

To analyze the impact of the measures adopted in recent years on foreign trade, ERCILLA made a complete study of the progress of exports and imports during that period, and of their current composition.

1982-1983

After setting the exchange rate at 39 pesos per dollar in mid-1979, the government maintained a policy of a fixed exchange rate until June 1982. In 1980, the country began to feel the effects of the international recession, which at first could be surmounted, thanks to a sizable flow of external credit. However, from the standpoint of the trade balance, the situation was reflected in deficits which reached \$1.3035 billion during the first half of 1981, and \$1.5655 billion in the second half of the same year.

Not until the first half of 1982 were the consequences of the internal adjustment in the foreign trade accounts observed. Owing to the effects of what was termed the "automatic adjustment," imports declined 33 percent during the first half of 1982, from the volume during the same period of the previous year. This reduction took place both in imports of consumer goods (37.2

percent) and in those of intermediate goods (35.1 percent) and of capital goods (31.7 percent). Whereas exports, instead of showing an increment, declined slightly (3.6 percent) between the same periods. The net effect of these two movements was a reduction in the trade deficit to \$287.8 million during the first half of 1982.

In view of the slowness shown by the adjustment in the economy, and the negative internal effects that were being noted with great intensity, particularly in unemployment, during June 1982 the authorities decided to devalue the national currency by 18 percent, bringing the exchange rate to 46 pesos per dollar. Within a short time, in August of the same year, it opted for a policy of a free exchange rate, which lasted only until the end of September, when a price of 66 pesos was established for the dollar. That price has been readjusted monthly, based on the CPI.

The considerable rise in the exchange rate has had major effects on the country's foreign trade. For example, the deficits that the trade balance had experienced during the previous periods turned into a surplus of \$166.4 million during the second half of 1982.

Nevertheless, the method for accruing this surplus was quite similar to that of previous periods. For example, whereas imports underwent another reduction (53.3 percent with respect to the same period of the previous year), exports still failed to contribute their share to the adjustment of the economy, and declined again (6.6 percent from the figure during the second half of 1981). This reduction occurred both in mining exports (6.3 percent), those of agricultural-livestock and ocean products (23.1 percent) and industrial products (3.9 percent).

At least in the case of the mining and industrial products, the drop in the value of exports was due to the decline in their prices on the international markets; because the physical quantities sold abroad increased. For example, in 1982 the price of copper dropped 13.3 percent, that of molybdenum 17.3 percent, that of fishmeal 22.6 percent and that of bleached cellulose 19.3 percent. Between the same periods, physical copper shipments, for their part, increased 16.4 percent, those of molybdenum 25.4 percent, those of fishmeal 69 percent and those of bleached cellulose 23 percent.

During the first half of 1983, the effects of the devaluation on foreign trade could be observed more clearly. For example, the surplus in the trade balance amounted to \$565.9 million; which is more than three times the amount accrued during the previous half. Again, this result was attained thanks to a greater contraction in imports; but the innovation during this period is the fact that exports showed a slight increase (2.1 percent over the first half of 1982). Nevertheless, this increase could only be explained by larger exports of mining products; because the foreign sales of agricultural-livestock, ocean and industrial products underwent further reductions.

In the case of imports, the greatest reductions occurred again in purchases of capital goods (58.3 percent with respect to the same period the year before),

and consumer goods (54.6 percent). It should be borne in mind that these sizable reductions were to some extent influenced by the general increase in tariffs which took place in March 1983.

After a constant improvement in the trade balance since the beginning of 1982, during the second half of last year the trend was modified, and the trade balance was lower than that of the first half, amounting to only \$300.8 million. Despite this worsening, that result was nearly twice the one accrued in 1982.

The reduction in the trade surplus during the second half of 1983 was due primarily to an increase in imports, which rose by \$189 million over those of the first half of the year. This increase was caused by a higher level of industrial activity, as shown by the fact that purchases of intermediate goods increased by \$215 million between the two periods, whereas purchases of capital goods and consumer goods continued their downward course.

Exports, for their part, showed a slight increase, due basically to the seasonal nature of the sales of agricultural-livestock products. In the case of mining products, the value of the exports remained approximately constant, despite the reductions in copper prices, due to increments in the physical volumes.

Future

The progress of foreign trade did not change significantly during the first half of this year. Although exports rose over the volume for the second half of 1983, this is explained basically by the seasonal nature of the agricultural-livestock products; and hence a lower level of foreign sales should be expected during the second part of the year. Sales of mining products, which constitute nearly half of the total, declined slightly, because of the continued deterioration in the price of copper, which was not offset by the larger physical volumes.

Exports of industrial products, for their part, declined 7.4 percent from the figure during the second half of 1983.

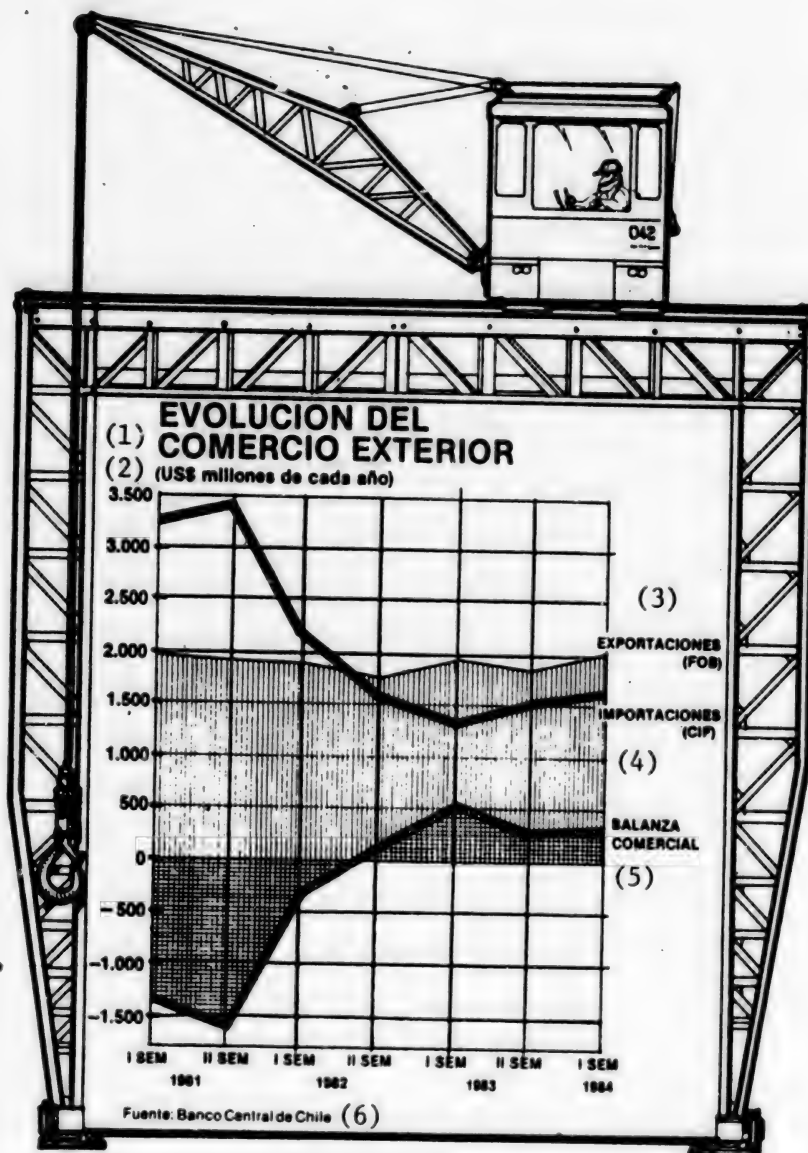
In the case of imports, the trend at the end of 1983 also continued, with a 6.2 percent increase occurring. Nevertheless, during this period, the rise was due basically to the increment in purchases of capital goods, whereas purchases of intermediate and consumer goods remained approximately constant. The impact of the increase in imports was less, so that sales abroad increased; hence the trade balance surplus reached \$354.1 million during the period.

According to the latest figures published, without regard for the impact from the recent economic measures, the trade surplus projected for 1984 would be less than that of 1983. On the one hand, although the income from exports of agricultural-livestock and ocean products, and of industrial goods, has continued to increase (37 and 8.9 percent, respectively, during the first 8

months of the year, over the figure for the same period in 1983), this has been offset by a lower copper price, which has been translated into an 8.2 percent cut in the income from the sale of the red metal during the period January-August, in comparison with the same interval the year before. On the other hand, between the same comparative periods, imports rose 24.8 percent, owing particularly to the increase in purchases of capital goods (59.5 percent) and intermediate products (24.1 percent).

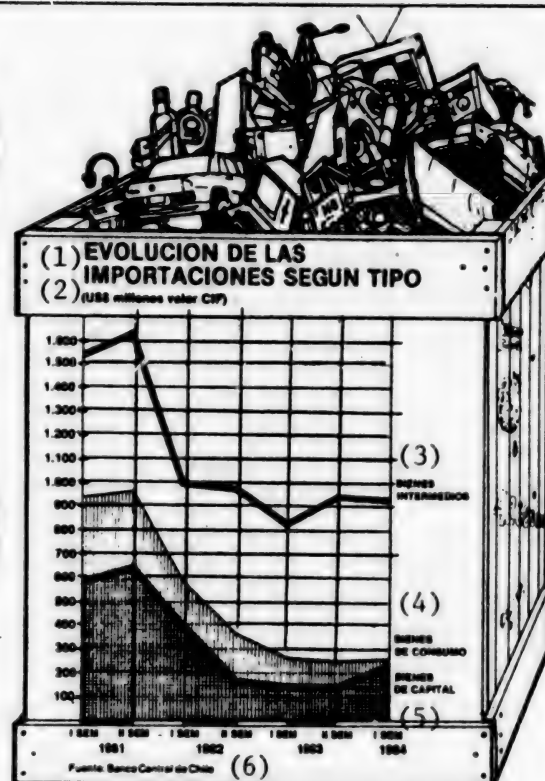
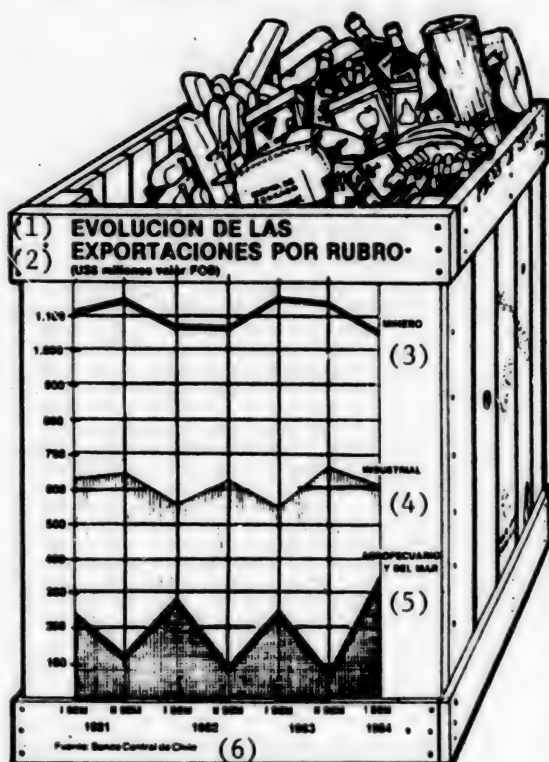
In considering the effect that the devaluation of the peso and the increase in tariff rates could have, we should bear in mind the long process of adjustment through a reduction in imports that the country has already undergone. Between the first half of 1981 and the same period this year, the latter have dropped 49 percent. In addition, the proportion of them representing consumer goods has declined from 28.5 to only 15.3 percent. Therefore, most of the imports have a more or less direct relationship with the level of internal activity. If we want to increase the latter, we cannot expect spectacular results from a reduction in purchases abroad.

The course of action for generating more foreign exchange in the future is by increasing exports; for which purpose the prompt implementation of the announced drawback will be important. The result of this exporting effort will depend largely on what happens to the price of copper, a product which still accounts for over 40 percent of the total sales made abroad. In any event, considering the results of recent years, we should be aware that the increase in non-mining exports is a slow process, which will require several years of steady effort.



Key to Graph 1:

1. Progress of Foreign Trade
2. U.S.\$ millions each year
3. Exports (FOB)
4. Imports (CIF)
5. Trade balance
6. Source: Central Bank of Chile



Key to Graph 2:

1. Progress of Exports by Category
2. U.S.\$ millions FOB value
3. Mining
4. Industrial
5. Agricultural-livestock and ocean
6. Source: Central Bank of Chile

Key to Graph 3

1. Progress of Imports Based on Type
2. U.S.\$ millions CIF value
3. Intermediate goods
4. Consumer goods
5. Capital goods
6. Source: Central Bank of Chile

2909

CSO: 3348/72

36 CURRENT POLITICAL PARTIES DESCRIBED, CATEGORIZED

Santiago ERCILLA in Spanish 17 Oct 84 pp 11-15

[Text] Many of these parties, movements or factions will have to merge in order to obtain the number of signatures required to become legally established. It could not be otherwise, when one considers that more movements are being added all the time. As of 12 October, it was possible to count 36 movements; three days later, the number had reached 40. By way of example, at the close of this edition, a "rock" group emerged which "miraculously" turned into a party: the "yippies," who are fostering a temporary triumvirate, calling themselves Marxist-mystics and proposing the shortening of the national anthem.

But beyond "guessing" how the political spectrum will remain with this new law, what we do know is that differences are being established between members (registered in the group, with a larger amount of commitment) and sympathizers (they will express their support essentially in the elections); and that the number to form a political party will be decreased, from 150,000 signatures to no more than 30,000 or 50,000 individuals.

As may be remembered, the situations which caused the greatest difficulty in reaching consensus in the study of the new bill were the presence of regional parties and the number of signatures necessary to legally establish a party.

For the present ERCILLA wishes to show the current political deck of cards which unquestionably affords a wide range of highlights, doctrines and personalities. (See list, in alphabetical order.)

National Vanguard

Top-ranking leader: Cesar Hidalgo.

Definition: It recognizes as its own the group of beliefs, values, standards and ideology expressed in the government's Declaration of Principles, to which all its members must give rational, complete fulfillment, as it states in its basic document.

Other information: It considers the goal of national unity a priority and repudiates any notion that would entail and foster an irreducible antagonism among Chileans, rejecting any Marxist-inspired alternative.

Socialist Convergence

Top-ranking leaders: Angel Flishfish and Manuel Antonio Garreton (not official).

Definition: An intellectual group supporting the theoretical basis of socialist renewal, namely, the cause of the struggle of the Socialist Bloc, to which Socialist Convergence belongs.

Other information: It is reflected in the universities through FLACSO [Latin American Schools of Social Sciences] in particular.

Radical Democracy

Top-ranking leader: Jaime Tormo (president).

Definition: Its principles coincide with those of Social Democracy.

Other information: It came into existence in 1983, with the political openness. At first, it assumed a stance of opposition to the regime. In 1984, it became a government party, which caused the resignation of several of its members, who went on to form the Radical Union. It is part of ADENA [National Democratic Accord].

Republican Right

Top-ranking leaders: Hugo Zepeda, Julio Subercaseaux.

Definition: A party of opposition to the government, it proposes a return of the right-wing ideals preceding the existence of the National Party. It advocates an unlimited democracy with a parliamentary system of government.

Other information: It disseminates its thinking through the Liberal Studies Center.

National Action Front (FRAN)

Top-ranking leader: Juan Gonzalez, a retired Army officer.

Definition: It abides by the Constitution of 1980 and the deadlines set by the government for the return to democracy. It favors combating communism and violence.

Other information: Is is a member of the Nationalist Federation of Chile.

Nationalist Revolutionary Front (FREN)

Top-ranking leader: Unknown

Definition: A Nationalist Leftist Movement acting clandestinely. Its existence is known from its striped murals similar to the swastika, attacking "officialist nationalism."

Christian Left

Top-ranking leader: Felipe Ramirez.

Definition: It favors active non-violence and adopts all the principles of liberation theology.

Other information: It belongs to the Socialist Bloc, but a few days ago it decided to operate more autonomously in its policy on alliances.

MAPU [United Popular Action Movement]

Top-ranking leaders: Oscar Guillermo Garreton, from abroad ; Guillermo del Valle, in Chile.

Definition: Marxist-Christians. They repudiate violence (they advocated it during the Allende government).

Other information: It belongs to the Socialist Bloc.

Worker-Peasant MAPU (MOC)

Top-ranking leader: Jaime Gazmuri, from abroad; Marcelo Contreras, in Chile.

Definition: It has no differences with MAPU.

Other information: It belongs to the Socialist Bloc.

National Action Movement (MAN)

Top-ranking leader: Federico Willoughby.

Definition: It favors a corporative nationalism, and a "peaceful, agreed upon, moderate" transition toward democracy. In the new institutional system, all totalitarian movements must be excluded; the Armed Forces will have to play a participatory role in the design of Chile's future.

Other information: It is a member of the ADENA bloc.

Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR)

Top-ranking leader: Andres Pascal, from abroad (recently reelected at a plenum in Buenos Aires.

Definition: It has been Marxist-Leninist since its creation (1966). It opted for the insurrectional method and acknowledges the development of a policy of violence.

Other information: It had individual resignations in 1983, owing to the phenomenon of the renewal of the left.

Javiera Carrera Movement

Top-ranking leader: M. Eugenia Mehnke.

Definition: It was founded last year, and its goal is to unite the right transcending the different top echelons.

Other information: This group was significant last December, at Vina del Mar, when it called upon the entire right, including the liberals and UDI. Two meetings were held, which eventually failed. It has just joined ADENA.

Liberal Movement

Top-ranking leaders: Pedro Esquivel and Gaston Ureta (delegate to the Democratic Alliance).

Definition: It calls for a return to the ideals of the former Liberal Party. Democratic, it is in opposition to the government.

In August 1984, it joined the Democratic Alliance. It disseminates its ideas through the Liberal Studies Center.

National Trade Union Movement

Top-ranking leaders: Werner von Bischoffhausen and Misael Galleguillos.

Definition: It advocates a model similar to Spanish Francoism: a society based on the preeminence of unions and syndicates. Absolutely anti-communist, it also cites the necessity for confrontation with the latter.

Other information: It is a member of the Nationalist Federation of Chile.

Social Democratic Workers Movement

Top-ranking leader: Sergio Bustamante.

Definition: It agrees with the principles of ADENA, which calls for operating in the institutional system in effect, giving de facto recognition to the Constitution of 1980 and holding a position clearly opposed to totalitarian Marxism.

Other information: It recently joined ADENA. It was founded in 1983 as a division of Social Democracy, with labor roots, in contrast to the elitism at the top echelon.

Regionalist Movement of Chile

Top-ranking leader: Claudia Pina.

Definition: It has no political ideology. It seeks to emulate the Regionalist Party and urges every province or region to set up its own regionalist movement.

Social Christian Movement

Top-ranking leader: Juan de Dios Carmona.

Definition: It desires to retrieve the original principles of the national falange, that is, the Social Christian movement.

Other information: It seeks to agglutinate the Christian Democratic rank and file dissatisfied with its top leadership. At the last council meeting, it proposed that ADENA become a federated party, an idea which was not shared by the others.

Social Democratic Movement

Top-ranking leader: Jorge Mario Quinzio.

Definition: In the political realm, it calls for rapprochement toward the left. It was founded in 1984, upon the expulsion of a group of leaders from the Social Democratic movement. In the doctrinal area, there is no difference from the Social Democrats.

Sol[Sun] Movement

Top-ranking leader: Olga Maturana

Definition: It was founded with the desire to unite the women opposed to Allende, transcending the Christian Democrats and the National Party. Since the top leaders did not reach agreement, the women formed this group. It disappeared with the fall of Allende, only to reappear at the end of last year. Its main objective is to create an anti-Marxist consciousness. It has just joined ADENA. Both the Javiera Carrera Movement and Sol lack political principles, and they are defined as short-term movements.

National Unity Movement (MUN)

Top-ranking leader: Andres Allamand.

Definition: A movement independent of the government, favoring representative democracy (in the political area) and a system of private ownership and free enterprise (in the economic area). It calls for a renewal in the political realm.

Other information: It emerged in October 1983, and contains, essentially, sectors from the National Party arriving in 1973. It belongs to ADENA.

Communist Party

Top-ranking leader: Luis Corvalan (reelected in June 1984, at the last national conference).

Definition: A Marxist-Leninist party which has opted for the insurrectional method.

Other information: It is the hegemonic force of the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP), and is the only party whose internal leadership is not known.

Christian Democratic Party (PDC)

Top-ranking leader: Gabriel Valdes (at present, they are involved in the internal election of their authorities on the national level).

Definition: It advocates communitarianism. Since Medellin, PDC has been increasingly adopting the social doctrine of the Church.

Other information: The model that comes closest to communitarianism is that of the Yugoslav "self-management." After Frei's death, they dropped the former philosophical inspiration of Jacques Maritain, which was replaced by that of Emanuel Mounier.

National Democratic Party (PADENA)

Top-ranking leaders: Luis Minchel and Ruben Hurtado.

Definition: They favor a democratic system and a mixed economy.

Other information: At present they are divided: one group of them is headed by Mateo Ferrer and Apolonides Parra. This sector joined ADENA. The other holds a critical position toward the government and is in an alliance with the National Party.

National Party (PN)

Top-ranking leaders: Carmen Saenz de Phillips and Fernando Ochagavia.

Definition: It proposes the presence of a strong government in the context of a democratic system and a social market economy.

Other information: It reappeared in October 1983, and was again starting to act like a party in January 1984. The idea of its guidelines is to revive the National Party, which abided by the political recess of 1973.

Radical Party

Although the party is broken down into three movements, the ideology is a general one: PR aspires to democratic socialism, which differs from social democracy in that it promotes an elimination of capitalism through evolutionary means. (Social democracy, on the other hand, is a social reformism within capitalism.)

1. Official movement.

Top-ranking leader: Enrique Silva Cimma.

Definition: Previously, the Radical Party was identified with extreme leftist alliances. Its leader in the official movement favors a revision of the party's profile and making it independent (it belongs to the Democratic Alliance).

2. Pro-Marxist movement.

Top-ranking leader: Anselmo Sule (up until 1981, he was president of the PR).

Definition: It advocates rapprochement with MDP.

Other information: It expresses its views, among other organs, through the Valentin Letelier Studies Center (CEVAL), and the magazine "Renewal for Change," which are its own.

3. Radical-Socialist movement.

Top-ranking leader: Anibal Palma.

Definition: It favors a non-Marxist socialism (unlike A. Sule's movement), and criticizes Enrique Silva Cimma as being too authoritarian.

Other information: It fights for PR's entry into the Socialist Bloc. Just like the pro-Marxist movement, it has the two aforementioned news organs.

Regionalist Party

Top-ranking leader: Guillermo Ilhem.

Definition: It contains social rather than political forces grouped around the notion of regional development.

Other information: It was founded in 1983, in Magallanes, a city which has a tradition of regionalist parties.

Socialist Party

In 1979, a major division took place, which gave rise to several movements:

1. Leninist Socialist Party.

Top-ranking leaders: Clodomiro Almeyda, from abroad; Manuel Almeyda, inside Chile.

Definition: A Marxist-Leninist party which opts for the insurrectional method.

Other information: It belongs to the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP). It has almost no difference with the Communist Party. At the last plenum, in

June of this year, Eduardo Gutierrez favored its independence from MDP, but he failed.

2. Humanist Socialist Party

Top-ranking leader: Aniceto Rodriguez.

Definition: Advocate of democratic socialism; rejects Marxism-Leninism; and is not identified with any movement of the Socialist Party in Chile, although it is with certain bases of a professional type (for example: socialist lawyers).

3. Briones Faction Socialist Party.

Top-ranking leader: Carlos Briones (Ricardo Lagos and Hernan Vodanovic: spokesmen for purposes of the Democratic Alliance; Ricardo Nunez: spokesman for the Socialist Bloc).

Definition: It favors a renewed Marxist socialism. It rejects Leninism, and condemns violent methods, It promotes an opening toward the political center.

Other information: It began operating in June of this year, when the Socialist Party "Political Unity Committee" (CPU), which included several socialist groups (the largest being that of Carlos Altamirano) became divided into two factions: the Briones faction and the Mandujano faction. The Briones faction belongs to the Democratic Alliance and to the Socialist Bloc.

4. Mandujano Faction Socialist Party.

Top-ranking leader: Manuel Mandujano; also, Juan Gutierrez.

Definition: It has no doctrinal difference with the Briones faction, but it does not belong to any bloc.

5. "La Chispa" [Spark] Socialist Party

Top-ranking leaders: Cecilia Suarez, abroad; Loreto Hoecker, in Chile.

Definition: It was founded in 1982 as the most extreme expression of socialism. The difference from the Leninist Socialist Party is that it is anti-communist, but nevertheless belongs to MDP.

Other information: It is clandestine.

6. Socialist Front.

Top-ranking leader: Juan Carlos Moraga.

Definition: It upholds the effectiveness of the Eurocommunist doctrines.

Other information: It was created in 1982 and, unlike "La Chispa," it is overt.

Social Democracy

Top-ranking leader: Mario Sharpe (Mario Papi, leader of the renewal sector).

Definition: A humanist-type party of the rationalist variety, which has adopted the principles of European democratic socialism. They call for a political democracy and a mixed economy insofar as private property is concerned.

Other information: It is the party of the Democratic Alliance which is most closely identified with the political center. Despite the fact that it shares the Alliance's official stances, its position is marked by greater political moderation. They do not accept pacts with the left.

Socialist Democratic Workshops

Top-ranking leader: Luis Angel Santibanez.

Definition: They call for a democratic socialism. It is an attempt to procure a socialist space within the bounds of the Constitution.

Other information: Its members come from what had been Radical Democracy, and it was created in an attempt to serve as the escape door for a socialism that could not express itself (1979), seeing to revise its extremist proposals to some extent. In 1983, it suffered a split when one group, headed by Levian Munoz, joined Social Democracy. They belong to ADENA.

Independent Democratic Union (UDI)

Top-ranking leaders: Jaime Guzman, Sergio Fernandez and Pablo Longueira.

Definition: It calls for the establishment of a free society based on liberal, humanist principles. As an economic system it proposes a market economy.

Other information: It was founded in October 1983.

Nationalist Union of Chile (UNACH)

Top-ranking leader: Jorge Vargas Diaz.

Definition: It proposes an "uncontaminated nationalism operating without foreign models." It abides by the Constitution of 1980, and the deadlines established by the government for the return to democracy.

Other information: It is a member of the Nationalist Federation of Chile.

Radical Union

Top-ranking leader: Julio Mercado.

Definition: A circumstantial movement, by its own definition, because its goal is the unification of the entire Radical area. In this respect, it has not concerned itself much about doctrine, but rather with Radical history. It declares itself independent of the government.

Popular Socialist Union (USOPO)

Top-ranking leader: Ramon Silva Ulloa.

Definition: It holds a democratic socialist position. It is the only socialist faction that would hold dialog with Minister Jarpa.

Wind of the South

Top-ranking leader: Eduardo Diaz.

Definition: A nationalist movement of a regional type which calls for non-Marxist, humanist socialism. An opponent of the government, although it defines itself as an advocate of a military regime.

Blocs Combining the Parties *

National Democratic Accord (ADENA)	Radical Democracy
	National Action Movement (MAN)
	Javiera Carrera Movement
	Social Democratic Workers Movement
	Social Christian Movement
	Sol Movement
	National Unity Movement (MUN)
	National Democratic Party (PADENA); the Mateo Ferrer and Apolonides Parra faction
	Democratic Socialist Workshops
	Republican Right
Democratic Alliance (AD)	Carlos Briones faction of the Socialist Party
	Liberal Movement
	Christian Democratic Movement
	Radical Party
	Social Democracy
	Popular Socialist Union (USOPO)

* System in effect as of 15 October 1984.

(Blocs and their components are shown in alphabetical order.)

Socialist Bloc	Socialist Convergence Briones faction of the Socialist Party Christian Left MAPU Worker Peasant MAPU (MOC)
Nationalist Federation of Chile	National Action Front National Trade Union Movement Nationalist Union of Chile
Democratic Socialist Federation	Radical Party Social Democracy Popular Socialist Union (USOPO) (Note: these three parties operate individually within AD and have never operated as a federation to date.)
Popular Democratic Movement (MDP)	Lautaro MAPU Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) Communist Party "La Chispa" Socialist Party Clodomiro Almeyda's Leninist Socialist Party
National Development Plan (PRODEN)	It is an informal bloc, because its members belong to it personally and not as a party. It has been typified by attempting to be the bridge between AD and MDP. It is the only one with a legal existence at present, because it registered as a corporation. Current president: Engelberto Frias; members: Jorge Lavandero and Samuel Astorga, representing Christian Democracy; the entire Social Democratic Movement; and union leaders such as Leon Vilarin.

Note: The following are not members of any bloc: National Vanguard, UDI, National Party, Wind of the South, Radical Union, PADENA faction of Luis Minchel, Social Democratic Movement, Socialist Front, Humanist Socialist Party of Aniceto Rodriguez, Mandujano faction of the Socialist Party, Nationalist Revolutionary Front (FREN), Regionalist Party and Regionalist Movement of Chile.

2909
CSO: 3348/72

ARMY CONCLUDES PLANNED ANTARCTIC EXPLORATIONS OF 1800 KM

Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 8 Oct 84 pp C-1, C-4

[Text] Crossing frozen seas and enduring adverse climatic conditions characterized by strong wind gusts and temperatures down to 20 degrees below zero, Army personnel concluded the exploration period in the Chilean Antarctic. The tiring excursions covered a total of 1,800 kilometers this year.

This information was given to EL MERCURIO by Maj Jose Llanos Rojas, head of the Bernardo O'Higgins Military Base. He said that the instructions of the top military command channeled through the Antarctic Command whose chief is Lt Col Juan Morales Salgado have been completely carried out.

This dialogue was held by radio at a time when the Chilean base was covered by 1.5 meters of snow.

The O'Higgins base is staffed by 23 men under the command of Major Llanos, a specialist from the telecommunications branch. He is pleased with the professional performance of the subordinate personnel. "They are at peak morale and performance level."

Explorations

Major Llanos said that the explorations were successfully carried out. There were four excursions totaling 1,800 kilometers. The longest was to Punta Titt, the furthest site from the base itself, and took 24 days round trip.

The officer indicated: "As will be understood, it is hard to advance on this land. The sea is frozen. In some places, it is necessary to go on the continent itself; in other places, we must cross toward the islands."

He admitted that one of the greatest risks involved places on the Antarctic Ocean that had a thin layer of ice which could break with the weight of the explorers and the equipment they carried.

They also had to avoid the crevices that are usually found on a trip of that scope. A snow-car fell into one of those crevices 2 meters in width. It was retrieved after many attempts.

Climate Improving?

The head of the O'Higgins Base revealed that, different from past years, the sea near the installations is not frozen due "to the slightly higher temperatures" recorded this spring.

Major Llanos said: "We are forecasting an improvement in the Antarctic climate."

He explained that this year temperatures of up to 8 degrees have been detected in the winter. This would corroborate the above prediction, a situation that was called unusual. As an example, he stated that "the water flows like a river in the glaciers."

In answer to a question, he stated: "There is a study that indicates that the temperature in the Antarctic has been changing for 5 years. There are seasons in the year."

Apart from the explorations and climate studies, he said that they have done seismological work with direct liaison with the specialized station at the University of Chile, meteorological work in collaboration with the Teniente Rodolfo Marsh Air Base on the island Rey Jorge, cartography and other scientific activities. They also defend national sovereignty, one of their primary tasks.

7717

CSO: 3348/36

ACCORD SIGNED BETWEEN CRUZAT GROUP, CREDITORS

Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 9 Oct 84 pp B-1, B-2

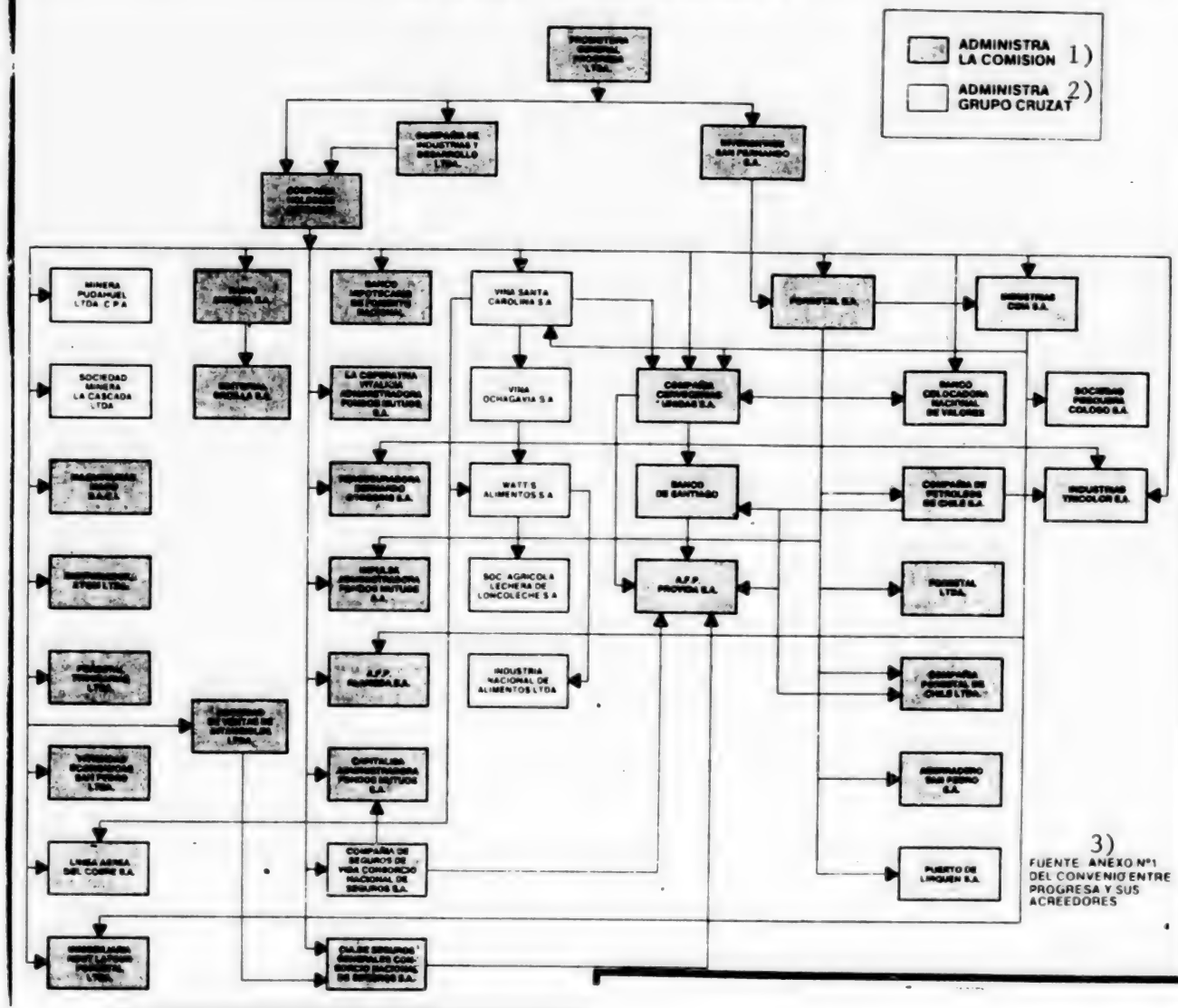
[Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Due to its importance for economic activities, especially due to the number and size of the enterprises involved and their debt level, the "Economics and Business" section felt it was necessary to continue reporting in detail about the agreement signed last Friday by the Cruzat group and its main creditors, the banks of Santiago and Colocadora Nacional de Valores. It is important to point out the following aspects of that agreement:

- 1) /"Abandonment of assets"/: The agreement includes the "abandonment of assets" which legally means there is no change in ownership but the administration of the enterprises will be under the creditors. In other words, Manuel Cruzat and Fernando Larrain are still the owners of the business conglomerate detailed in the attached chart (Annex No. 1 of the agreement) but cannot administer their enterprises. The reason for this is that the creditors--that is, the Santiago banks and Colocadora--feel it is necessary to administer them directly in order to insure payment of the debts.
- 2) /Administrative Committee/: The administration will fall to the Liquidating and Administrative Committee with four representatives from the creditor banks and one from the group, Manuel Cruzat himself.
- 3) /91.5 percent vs. 8.5 percent/: However, the agreement establishes that the committee will not administer some of the enterprises (Santa Carolina and its branches) which will continue under the direct administration of the Cruzat group. This situation generates two areas: "Area 1" is 91.5 percent of the assets of the group which will be administered by the committee; and "Area 2" is 8.5 percent of the assets which will be administered directly by the group itself. The enterprises in each of the areas are listed on the attached chart.

The reason that definition of "areas" was reached is political rather than economic. Apparently, it was indicated in the negotiations that it was not appropriate for socially important enterprises like the AFP Provida and Alameda to be under the administration of the group. The same was true about the communications media, ERCILLA and Radio Minería.

-GRUPO CRUZAT



Key:

1. Committee administers
2. Cruzat Group administers

3. Source: Annex No. 1 of that agreement between Progresa and its creditors

4) /Pay the debts in 10 years/: The objective of the agreement is for the "paper" corporations--that is, the investment companies that own the enterprises "with smokestacks"--to pay their debts within 10 years.

It is necessary to point out the following: The owners of all the enterprises "with smokestacks" detailed on the attached chart are investment corporations that have a combined debt of about 78 billion. These debts which have been broken down (Annex 2 of the agreement) must be paid in 10 years. These commitments must be paid with the profits that the enterprises "with smokestacks" generate.

In other words, COPEC [Chilean Oil Company], CCU, Santa Carolina and other enterprises that must confront their own debts will generate profits after paying their individual financial commitments. Those profits will go to the owners--that is, to the investment corporations--which must allocate them all to pay their debt of 78 billion.

5) /Sale of enterprises/: A strict payment schedule was set up to pay the debt of the "paper" corporations with annual quotas starting 15 November 1984. That payment schedule is for the enterprises in "Area 1" as well as those in "Area 2."

In the specific case of the enterprises in "Area 1" which the committee administers and which includes 91.5 percent of the assets and liabilities of the group, most of the studies show that it is virtually impossible to pay all the debts in 10 years unless some of the enterprises are sold.

In other words, when the profits of the enterprises "with smokestacks" are not enough to pay the debts of the investment corporations, the committee will have to sell some enterprises in order to obtain these funds. For this reason, the committee is called "liquidating and administrative."

6) /Will anything be returned?/: The term for payment is 10 years. That payment can be made with the funds from profits as well as the sale of enterprises. If all the debt has been paid at the end of 10 years and there are still enterprises that were not sold because it was not necessary, these will be returned to the administration of their owners.

7717

CSO: 3348/36

MINES MINISTER ANNOUNCES ADJUSTMENTS DUE TO DEVALUATION

Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 8 Oct 84 pp A-1, A-10

[Article by Dania Guelfand: "ENAMI Readjusts Mining Prices"]

[Text] La Serena--The increase in the purchase prices for some ores that would compensate for the effects of the devaluation in that sector was announced in this city yesterday by the minister of mines, Samuel Lira Ovalle, at the end of a general meeting with producers.

Delegates from the entire country attended the meeting organized by SONAMI [National Association of Mining] headed by Manuel Feliu. Various matters tied to mining were debated.

In his speech, the minister pointed out the increase in mining production. He cited that, between 1976 and 1983, a growth of about 4.6 percent per year was achieved while the rest of the economy grew 3.6 percent. As examples, he indicated that copper production had increased 70 percent in the last decade, molybdenum 300 percent, gold 424 percent and silver 144 percent.

In relation to the credit provided by ENAMI [National Mining Enterprise], the minister said that \$39 million have been made available to the sector since 1982. Recently the debtors had been offered a credit line from Central Bank of \$17 million. He pointed out that this amount had been increased now to \$25 million.

Gold Plan

He also referred to the national gold plan, the tax reforms that favor medium and small gold and silver miners, the purchasing power of metallic gold and the special prices at ENAMI for those products. "At this time, we are pledged to provide the miner certain basic supplies for the production process like sulfuric acid at reasonable prices. Before the end of the year, we hope to award the bid for the construction of a sulfuric acid plant for Fundicion Ventanas. It is expected to begin operations in 1987. It is also felt that the sulfuric acid plant that will be constructed in Chuquicamata will be in operation within 3-1/2 years."

The minister added that he expected the regulation of the Mining Code to be completed before the end of the year. It will be given to SONAMI to distribute

to all the mining associations in the country. The idea is for the miners themselves to make observations and suggestions they feel are appropriate.

He said that the National Geology and Mining Service had already done 64 percent of the surveying work imposed by the legislation. Therefore, 10,112 groups of mining claims are measured in coordinates and it continues working to cover all 15,800 in the country.

In relation to the situation of ENAMI, the minister said that there would not be profits this year. It had been excused from the monthly contributions to the Ministry of Finance as a public entity.

Readjustment of Prices

He reported that the government instructed ENAMI to make a careful evaluation of the positive effects of the monetary devaluation in order to study the effect that this measure and the increase of the customs rate will have on production costs. Samuel Lira stated: "Therefore, purchasing prices will be re-adjusted and announced in the coming days."

He added that, to maintain competitiveness, new prices for the sector had been determined. For example, copper flotation ore with 3-percent content that cost 1,470 pesos per TM [metric ton] will go up to approximately 1,750; copper concentrate of 30 percent will increase from 29,870 pesos per TM to about 36,000; silver flotation ore with 170 grams will rise from 1,300 pesos per TM to 1,600; and gold concentrate of 5 grams will rise from 1,520 pesos per TM to 1,870.

"Important Compensation"

After listening to the minister, the president of SONAMI, Manuel Feliu, called the increase in prices "very important" since it would compensate for the devaluation of the Chilean currency. He said: "In other words, we would receive in prices the same 23 percent lost in currency devaluation. This is very important due to the deterioration of our costs. This improvement should compensate for the problem that the increases and the customs in effect provoked so that the basic raw materials and supplies we use do not continue rising."

He said: "We are going to continue seeking an integral solution to the problem of not exporting taxes. Therefore, we are still interested in promoting legislation that somehow recognizes that mining must not export taxes. Consequently, there must be customs equal to zero. We will continue fighting for that."

7717

CSO: 3348/36

BRIEFS

ENAP ANNOUNCES PRODUCTION, DISCOVERY--This year, the National Petroleum Enterprise will produce 14 million barrels which, at current prices, would represent approximately \$500 million, a source at ENAP [National Petroleum Enterprise] announced. The above is equivalent to 2,231,000 cubic meters and will be achieved through the program that was drafted for this year, which will include developing onshore and offshore deposits. Operations at sea involve 22 platforms and another four are to be set up next year. Of the total quantity produced, 96 percent will go to the refineries of Concon and Petrox in San Vicente. The remaining 4 percent will be consumed in Magallanes. The same ENAP source admitted that a new gas deposit had been discovered in the sector of the San Gregorio terminal, 120 kilometers north of this city. It was given the name Puerto Sara and an evaluation phase has been started during which it will be necessary to determine the volume that can be gotten out of this well and its content of liquefiable [gas], something which is an important characteristic from the sales viewpoint. [Text][Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 30 Sep 84 p C-7] 5058

IMPROVED TRADE BALANCE EXPECTED--An improvement in the country's balance of trade was observed last August as compared to prior months, according to estimates supplied by private-sector sources. A study prepared by the BICE (Industrial and Foreign Trade Bank), stated that, although information on trade is still incomplete, one can detect a noticeable increase in exports as compared to the figure in July. According to the agency, this increase was noted especially because of the greater fish export shipments. As for imports, the study adds that they remained steady as compared to July although it seems that there was an increase in the imports of capital goods; this was compensated for by a drop in corresponding purchases under other headings. In the opinion of the BICE, the above indicates that, during August, the balance of trade should have shown a positive figure for the country amounting to something like \$45 million; this is much more than the July figure which was \$1.9 million but it is still below the monthly average for the first half which was \$65 million. [Text][Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 1 Oct 84 p C-1] 5058

CSO: 3348/43

FOREIGN MINISTER MALMIERCA'S SPEECH TO UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 14 Oct 84 p 9

[Speech by Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca at the 39th session of the UN General Assembly on October 3]

[Text] Mr. President;

Distinguished Delegates:

EXACTLY ONE year after the start of the 38th session where so many voices spoke out from this same rostrum to demand a detente process in international relations, the outlook could not be more alarming or dangerous. Far from abandoning the arms buildup and shows of strength, imperialist aggressiveness has increased and today threatens the world's peace and security. The Reagan administration's policy aimed at achieving political, economic and military supremacy, has created new focal points of tension and heightened existing ones in different regions making the use and the threat of the use of force into a reason of state and reducing the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes to a mere verbal exercise.

Cuba attaches special importance to the situation in Central America where the danger of the conflict spreading is increasing.

Despite the Salvadoran revolutionaries showing openly and repeatedly their willingness to hold talks without conditions in order to find a negotiated solution to the problem of El Salvador, despite the Nicaraguan Sandinista Front's willingness to hold talks and work toward a negotiated solution to the conflict, the situation is worsening by the day.

The Nicaraguan decision to accept the Contadora Group's reviewed act without modification is a very clear indication of this willingness to use negotiations to solve the conflict suffered by the peoples of Central America.

The Contadora Act of September 7 contains various recommendations to open the way to peace, and those aimed at halting, at reducing the dangerous increase in military actions in states of the region deserve special attention. They include:

Prior notice of military maneuvers, be they national or joint; a ban on international military maneuvers in their respective territories; putting a stop to the arms race in all its forms; suspending the purchase of military equipment; not authorizing foreign military bases or schools to be set up on their soil; eliminating existing foreign military bases and schools; establishing a schedule for the gradual withdrawal and total elimination of foreign military advisers; eliminate the intra- and extra-regional arms traffic destined to individuals, organizations and irregular forces of armed bands trying to destabilize the government of the states which are party to the agreement; refrain from political, military, financial or any other form of support for individuals, groups, irregular forces or armed bands which advocates the overthrow or destabilization of other governments, and not allowing the use of their territory; abstaining from organizing, training or participating in all acts of sabotage, subversion or terrorism in another state.

Nicaragua has said that an agreement between the five Central American states to guarantee peace and security in the area would only be valid and meaningful if there is a formal and compulsory commitment by the government of the United States.

Nicaragua feels it is indispensable that the United States sign and ratify the additional protocol of the act and immediately cease military and all other acts of aggression against Nicaragua.

Cuba Wants a Dignified, Honorable Solution to the Central American Conflict Based on Mutual Compromise

As President Fidel Castro pointed out more than a year ago, Cuba wants a dignified, honorable solution to the Central American conflict based on mutual compromise. This is the only possible solution.

Cuba repeats that it will support the negotiations undertaken by Nicaragua and any agreements it signs.

Cuba also supports the positions of the Salvadoran revolutionaries, who have reaffirmed their willingness to negotiate a political solution to the situation in El Salvador.

It is clear to everyone that the United States must participate in the negotiations, because the real problem in both Nicaragua and El Salvador is caused by U.S. intervention, and a genuine and lasting solution to the situation in Central America is impossible to achieve without mutual compromises and without the participation of the United States.

The history of blockade and constant aggression to which Nicaragua has been subjected by imperialism is well known. Its ports have been mined, its territory surrounded by military bases from which it is harassed by air, sea and land.

Driven by the triumphal air of the shameful invasion of tiny Grenada, which was condemned by the overwhelming majority of member states at the 38th

session of the General Assembly, the U.S. government is preparing new attacks on the free peoples of the Americas and on the national liberation movement developing there.

The Honduran army has received planes, helicopters and sophisticated weapons from the U.S. administration to harass Nicaragua. The United States has thousands of officers and soldiers on Honduran territory, where it has built military airfields; modernized ports; built roads, warehouses and barracks; and set up a powerful infrastructure for war.

Meanwhile, the government of El Salvador remains in power thanks to the plentiful aid provided by the United States to cover its military expenses, in an effort to wipe out the people's armed insurrection.

There are repeated U.S. military maneuvers with the armies of the region thereby providing continuity for the state of open war against Nicaragua and the Salvadoran revolutionaries.

The scene appears to be set, in fact, for a new intervention adventure. The necessary military, infrastructure and logistical conditions exist, and now the commanders are only waiting for the political decision to intervene.

But history, and reality, are subjected to a course and certain inexorable laws, and no forces on earth can change those laws or the course of history. There may be and in fact there are setbacks here or there in the spiraling development of society; peoples who had advanced in the process of definitive emancipation are once again subjected to oppression and neocolonial exploitation due to exceptional circumstances and the "timely" action of imperialism, but these exceptional circumstances which existed in Grenada, for example, do not exist in the revolutionary movement in El Salvador, in Nicaragua or in Cuba.

Those who decide to send U.S. troops to invade Central America should also prepare for their forces becoming bogged down, for a progressive wearing down of their forces and for a mass war with no quarter against the invader until the peoples in the area have achieved definitive victory.

Likewise, those considering sending troops to Cuba should prepare to face a total war of the entire people, everywhere and at all times, in multiple forms that will turn every inch of ground occupied by the invader into a veritable inferno; a war in which we will never capitulate or let up and which we will fight until final victory regardless of the time it takes or the sacrifice it entails.

But Cuba, distinguished delegates, wants regional and world peace. Peace with dignity and equality for all everywhere; peace which will assure a climate of security, stability, respect and cooperation urgently needed by our people to devote themselves to building their future.

That is why today we once again reiterate our profound appreciation, recognition and respect for the efforts made by the Contadora Group which deserve the continued support of the international community.

U.S. imperialism's use of force, threats and pressure in southern Africa serves to maintain a climate of tension in the region, where the racist Pretoria regime, imperialism's strategic ally, continues to develop a policy of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and other independent states, and persists in its illegal occupation of Namibia. It is precisely the United States' unmasked support for the apartheid regime which prevents a peaceful and negotiated solution to the problem of Namibia and is the chief cause of tension and aggression in the African Southern Cone.

In his speech in Cienfuegos on the 26th of July, President Fidel Castro said, "We will always give serious consideration to anything which can ease tension in our area and the rest of the world; anything which can reduce the danger of war madness. We are even willing to help in the search for a political solution to Namibian independence, an important problem in southern Africa, which should be based on UN Resolution No. 435. We are aware of our responsibilities to our people and humanity as a whole; that is our duty as socialists, as revolutionaries."

Regarding Cuba and its express willingness to help find a political solution to these problems, there are three key features; implementation of Resolution No. 435 (1978) of the UN Security Council, a halt to foreign aid to armed organizations fighting against the recognized government of Angola, and a halt to all acts or threats of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, including the withdrawal of the South African forces still on its territory.

These three basic requisites were outlined in the Joint Statement of the Governments of Angola and Cuba issued on March 19, 1984.

As everyone knows, the presence of Cuban troops in Angola results from a request made by the Angolan government and is an outgrowth of a decision by the Cuban people and government to defend the sovereignty and security of Angola given the foreign aggression it faced and faces still.

There is no other reason, nor has there ever been, for the presence of those troops in Angola.

The strict implementation of Resolution No. 435, which involves withdrawal from Namibia of the South African troops with the Namibian people being given the right to full sovereignty over all their territory, a halt to foreign aid to the counterrevolutionary organizations operating in Angola and international guarantees of respect for its sovereignty, territorial integrity and security, will make possible the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

In their efforts to delay, boycott and prevent Namibian independence, the imperialists and their allies, the racists in Pretoria, resort to lies, diversionary tactics, coercion, pressure and blackmail. Who are they trying to deceive?

All of us here know who is who and what each one does on behalf of peace, social justice and independence of the peoples. Furthermore, we all know what each one does on behalf of Namibia's real independence and are not taken in by siren songs.

Proof of the siren song: in September 1978, exactly six years ago, the UN Security Council unanimously approved Resolution No. 435 which should have opened the way for the independence of Namibia. Among the sponsors of the resolution were the United States and other Western powers. However, it is significant that the United States has never voted for any pro-Namibian independence resolution in this Assembly during this period.

Once again this year several resolutions on Namibia will be put to this Assembly. We invite the representatives of all countries present here to observe the results of the voting. I warn you, you won't be in for any surprises! The names of the enemies of Namibian independence are very well known.

However, the exploitation, scorn, discrimination and abuse to which the black people of South Africa are subjected are unprecedented in history and can only arouse world solidarity with their struggle, with their desire for equality, for respect for their rights and for their aspiration to create a just society based on majority rule; they can only lead to active and militant solidarity with the African National Congress, the legitimate representative and symbol of the South African people's struggle against the odious apartheid regime.

The racists response to the black people's demands and aspirations is repression, terror, imprisonment, torture and execution of some of the people's finest sons and patriots.

But Central America and southern Africa are not the only places where imperialist arrogance and interests seek to uphold neocolonial domination.

There are hot beds of tension in other parts of the world which must be stopped in time if we want to avoid the progressive deterioration of the international situation which heightens the danger of war.

We must take effective action to snuff out the imperialist fuse which threatens world peace today.

The UN cannot renounce its duty to uphold peace nor can it renounce the demand that all states respect the principles contained in the Charter of our organization, especially if the state which violates them is a permanent member of the Security Council.

Never before has the policy of blackmail and pressure in international relations been so bare-faced and brutal, nor so far-reaching, because now it is even used to condition the financing of international organizations, especially those in which the United States has almost determining power.

Pressure is exerted when the budgets of international organizations are drawn up. It is aimed at paralyzing the development of multilateralism and international cooperation, blocking resources for economic and technical cooperation among developing countries; it is aimed at promoting bilateralism, which allows for resources being attached to political strings of all kinds.

We have no doubts that this policy is aimed at reversing the process of democratization in international agencies that occurred after World War II stemming from changes on the world scene after many colonial countries became independent.

The results of this policy of aggression, blackmail and pressure are shown by the isolation in international agencies of the United States that has vented its unbending hatred on the UN system and its arrogance on the practice of multilateralism.

In the last session, the U.S. government voted against 90 of the 150 resolutions passed by the Assembly, thus underscoring the antipopular, hegemonic and reactionary character of the present U.S. government and its alienation from predominant world tendencies which are shared even by several of its main allies.

Thus the 39th session has opened in an atmosphere charged with tension and dark omens. The long list of important and delicate topics to be discussed compels us to adopt an objective and sincere approach. Awaiting us are long hours of work dedicated to clearing up the unhealthy climate prevailing in international relations and to struggle once again for peace, development and a more just world order.

Under the current delicate circumstances, we are pleased that Ambassador Paul Lusaka, of Zambia, is serving as the president of this important session of our organization. His contribution in defense of the interests of the underdeveloped countries, his tireless battle as president of the UN Council on Namibia and his clear organizational skills and capability engender the respect, admiration and trust of the international community in his ability to carry out such an important responsibility.

Cuba applauds his unanimous election to the presidency of the 39th session and extends to him the complete support of its delegation as a modest contribution to his noble efforts to guarantee the success of this Assembly.

Similarly, we cannot fail to express our sincere recognition to Dr. Jorge Illueca, president of the last session, who, with his accustomed intelligence and tenaciousness has served brilliantly during a period no less charged with danger and tension.

Mr. President, in its irrational endeavor to achieve world strategic supremacy, the United States did not hesitate scarcely a year ago to foist the installation of 572 medium-range nuclear missiles, first-strike weapons, on Western Europe for the purpose of creating an imbalance of the forces in that region. This action could have had no other consequences than the adoption of countermeasures on the part of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which, in turn, increases the danger of nuclear confrontation and turns several European countries into virtual hostages or targets of a nuclear counterstrike.

The Planet is not Enough for the Imperialists, and Now They Propose to Take the Arms Race to Outer Space!

They are now involved in the rapid development of new weapon systems for outer space and the militarization of the cosmos, in preparation for an eventual "star war." The planet is not enough for the imperialists, and now they propose to take the arms race to outer space!

In contrast with this bellicose and adventuristic policy is the serious, responsible and constructive attitude of the Soviet Union, whose initiative in the field of disarmament, freezing the production and development of nuclear arms and preventing the militarization of outer space, constitutes an extremely valuable contribution to peace and international security which Cuba applauds and fully supports.

Cuba supports the proposal presented by the USSR to include on the agenda as an important and urgent matter a point aimed at impeding some countries bent on achieving military superiority from continuing a policy of state terrorism in international affairs and from increasingly resorting to the use of weapons to undermine the sociopolitical order of other countries.

Even despite the opposition of many of its allies, the U.S. government maneuvers to impede the beginning of genuine negotiations leading to an agreement that prohibits the militarization of outer space and proceeds with its insane arms race. As it draws the world closer every day to nuclear holocaust, it squanders immense human and material resources which could contribute to the development and well-being of all the earth's inhabitants.

This wasting of resources is occurring in the midst of the severest economic crisis that the world has experienced in the last 50 years. Originating in the developed capitalist countries, it affects all countries, but with even greater intensity it affects the so-called developing countries which are subjected to unjust international economic relations based on unequal trade and economic dependence.

The 34th session of the General Assembly passed a resolution which expresses the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of its members to initiate global negotiations designed to restructure international economic relations and establish a new, more just and equitable order.

Unfortunately, we have not managed to take even a single step in that direction and it must be said that the process is at a standstill mainly because of the intransigent and inflexible position of the government of the United States of America.

Thus, the initiatives of the underdeveloped countries have not progressed. They include the well-known immediate economic measures that the heads of state and of government of the member states of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries adopted at the 7th Summit Meeting held in New Delhi and which were later organized and elaborated in the form of a proposal for the ministers' conference of the Group of 77 which was held in Buenos Aires.

The so-called Buenos Aires Platform represented hope for the success of the 6th UN Conference on Trade and Development. Perhaps never before had such a large group of countries worked with such seriousness and determination on a set of important economic proposals.

The failure of the 6th UNCTAD, its lack of practical results, caused by the U.S. representatives' refusal to approach the negotiations seriously--a position they imposed on the group of developed capitalist countries--lent a bitter sense of frustration to all those who had placed some hope in that conference.

Moreover, the high interest rates have contributed to the increase of the foreign debt of developing countries to intolerable levels, to the extent that it surpasses a total of 700 000 million dollars and whose principal and service charges are practically impossible for some countries to meet. This has resulted in a flow of capital to the United States which depletes the reserve capital of the rest of the world to the benefit of that country and which has served to finance the enormous budget deficit engendered by the arms race. Paradoxically, several developing countries, which are affected by the economic crisis and which call for the resources used for the arms race to be used for development purposes, thus contributes to promoting it.

Obsessed by the desire to achieve strategic military supremacy and to expand and strengthen domination by the transnationals, the imperialists couldn't care less about the intense poverty and pain which affect the vast majority of the world population.

The U.S. government refuses to promise not to be the first to use nuclear arms and keeps to the illusory dream of the possibility of a limited nuclear conflict, with a devastating first strike, based on the false belief that it is possible to achieve peace through force.

To gradually defuse this charged atmosphere and guarantee peace are, therefore, the immediate and priority objectives which this Assembly must deal with, bringing about actions that turn words into deeds. In this endeavor, Cuba as a founding member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, will make whatever efforts are necessary to make real the noble objectives comprised in its principles: the eradication of war, exploitation and iniquity in international relations and all forms of colonial and imperialist oppression.

Today I Reiterate Here Our Support and Encouragement for All Peoples That Having Won Political Power Are Now Waging a Tenacious Battle for Peace and Development

Mr. President, today I reiterate here our support and encouragement for all peoples that having won political power are now waging a tenacious battle for peace and development and have closed ranks to counter imperialism on the prowl. I reiterate our militant solidarity with all peoples now paving the way to freedom and independence through sheer sacrifice and willpower; our solidarity with the workers and peasants, with the students and professionals, with the artists, intellectuals and scientists who living in hostile societies

are planting with their hands, their sweat, their ideas, their art or their science, the seeds of brotherhood among men.

We hail the heroic battle of the Sandinista fighters bent on building a new Nicaragua which has been rescued from the moral ruin of Somocism and the secular claws of colonial and neo-colonial domination. And we express our firm conviction that despite all the attacks it is enduring now and notwithstanding the serious danger that threatens it, Nicaragua will be forever a free nation nurtured by the noble sacrifices of its best sons and daughters.

Our greetings of solidarity to the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the entire Salvadoran people, who grow stronger in their battle with the joint forces of imperialism and the puppet Salvadoran army.

We reiterate our demand that the invasion troops in Grenada, headed by those of the United States, cease their occupation of that country. The Grenadian people have the legitimate right to shape their own destiny in an independent and sovereign manner.

The Cuban delegation reiterates its firm support for the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico, that unredeemed portion of Our America, in their sustained endeavor to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, free from the colonial yoke.

We wish to set forth here once again our support for the aspirations of the Panamanian people and government so that the Canal agreements are respected and strictly complied with; for Bolivia's just claim to recover an outlet to the sea; for Belize's non-alignment and respect for its territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty.

We advocate a peaceful solution to the differences between Guyana and Venezuela over the Essequibo region. We also advocate the return of the Malvinas, South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands to the Republic of Argentina by means of negotiations to be conducted between Argentina and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, in accordance with the resolutions adopted by this Assembly, and we urge the British government to start such negotiations immediately.

We pay homage to the Chilean people who, in open defiance of the fascist junta's arrogance, terror and repression, are holding aloft with dignity and in open combat their ideals of social justice and independence, free from the tutelage of the corrupt national oligarchy and imperialism. Sooner rather than later, the Chilean people will win. We hail the struggle being waged by other South American peoples suffering the repression of the lackeys of imperialism, particularly the Uruguayan people who, by taking to the streets, have succeeded in winning the release of men and women who faithfully expound their struggles and aspirations. The Uruguayans continue to fight to bring about the release of all political prisoners and achieve a truly democratic regime and have forced the government to recognize the existence of various political parties that had been banned. They will also win their freedom and take their destiny in hand.

We greet the efforts tending to guarantee a climate of detente, peace and stability in Southeast Asia. We encourage these actions, steps and measures aimed at bringing about this important goal to be continued, and we reaffirm our solidarity with the Indochinese countries still having to endure foreign hostility and aggression.

We believe that the efforts to promote a stable climate of peace and security on the basis of mutual respect among the conflicting parties must prevail in Southwest Asia.

We support the just efforts and aspirations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country, and we advocate an end to all interference in its internal affairs, as well as the withdrawal of all U.S. interventionist forces from the southern portion of the Korean peninsula.

We support the Comoro Islands' aspirations to regain sovereignty over Mayotte; Madagascar's rights of Malgache island, Glorieuses, Juan de Neva, Europa and Bassas da India islands; as well as Mauritius' just claim to recover Diego Garcia Island.

We support the Cypriots in their just and respected efforts to preserve their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity within a united and non-aligned republic, and we reject the proclamation of the so-called Turkish-Cypriot Republic and every attempt at partitioning the island.

We exhort the governments of Iran and Iraq once again to put an end to the war they have been waging with each other for over four years; the constant bloodshed and draining of resources deeply impair the standard of living and development prospects of both nations while jeopardizing world peace and security.

We send our greetings and solidarity to the dedicated Saharawi fighters; to the suffering, heroic and beloved people of Palestine and their sole and legitimate representative, the PLO, in their tenacious struggle to exercise their inalienable rights, including the establishment of their own state in Palestine. We also support the call for an international peace conference on the Middle East under UN sponsorship and attended by all the interested parties.

Our encouragement goes to the Namibian patriots who led by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their sole and legitimate representative, are courageously and firmly fighting the repression of the Pretoria regime. Our encouragement also goes to the brave and stoical South African patriots, who grouped behind the African National Congress (ANC) continue to struggle actively against the hateful regime of apartheid; to the governments and peoples of the Front Line states, resisting the onslaught of South Africa and its allies; to the Arab countries that are confronting the joint action of Zionism and imperialism; and to all those who in all parts of the world are defending the right to be free and dignified with their lives.

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

ICAP-SPONSORED ECUMENICAL MEETING ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 7 Oct 84 p 4

[Article by Milagros Oliva]

[Text] A LETTER of solidarity and respect for the Cuban Revolution was sent to Cuban President Fidel Castro by participants in the 3rd Interregional Meeting on the Rights of the Peoples held in Cuba recently.

The event was organized by the Latin American Ecumenical Youth Union (ULAJE) and the European Ecumenical Youth Council, with the help of the Cuban Institute of Friendship with the Peoples (ICAP). It was held at the Evangelical Theological Seminary in Matanzas, with its beautiful buildings in a fine setting of fruit, palm and poinciana trees, overlooking the Yumuri River and Matanzas Bay.

There were 30 participants from Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Brazil, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Puerto Rico, Panama, Peru, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Czechoslovakia, France, Britain, Hungary, Italy, Sweden, the Soviet Union, Switzerland and the United States.

Reverend Hector Mendez, vice-president of ULAJE and pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Sancti Spiritus, coordinated the event and talked to Granma Weekly Review to explain the nature of the meeting.

The first event of this kind came a few years ago in response to U.S. policy (under the Carter administration) on human rights.

"This was an idea of ULAJE and its European counterpart, which includes progressive young Christians--Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox--strongly committed to the struggle of the peoples.

"The first meeting was held in Panama in 1980, the second in Sweden in 1982 and the third, here in Cuba, focused on the rights of the peoples. The opening was a service at the Methodist Church in Havana's Vedado district, held by Reverend Carlos Sintados, of Argentina, now youth secretary of the World Council of Churches.

"During the six-day event, we worked in groups to review the situation in Europe and Latin America. There were three papers: one on the judicial concept of the rights of peoples by Dr. Raul Gomez Terto, of Cuba; one which was a theological analysis of present-day Latin America by Dr. Victorio Araya, of Costa Rica; and a third which was a pastoral message on the rights of the peoples by Reverend Carlos Camps of Cuba.

"In the plenary sessions, we approved the reports of the groups and issued a final communique, and the idea came up of sending a letter of Commander in Chief Fidel Castro to express youth solidarity with our country, which was the feeling of participants.

"An important aspect of the event was that it also included visits to places of historical, economic and political interest. We went to Playa Giron, Picadura Valleys, the Havana Psychiatric Hospital, the National Assembly of People's Power, the National Office of the Federation of Cuban Women and ICAP.

"Everyone was very impressed by their meetings with members of a Committee for the Defense of the Revolution near the Theological SEminary.

"The event was very positive. First, it enabled visitors to take a first-hand look at Cuban reality, to learn more about the life of a people in revolution and the role of Christians in our society.

"Second, the level of participants' knowledge and discussion of the historical situation in which we are living contributed to the thoroughness of our work on the rights of peoples.

"There was also diversity. The fact that more than 20 countries were represented gave us a more complete framework of the world situation."

To Demonstrate Our Solidarity

For Reverend Laszlo Pall, general secretary of the European Ecumenical Youth Council and pastro of the Reformed Church of Hungary, it was a first visit to Cuba, although he had contact with Cuban Christians through meetings of the World Council of Churches and the Christian Peace Conference.

He was very favorably impressed by the event and the careful preparatory work done in Cuba.

"The results are good because of the good preparatory work and the ~~detailed~~ contributions from both Europe and Latin America.

"This is the first time that there have been a number of representatives of the European socialist countries at an event of this kind.

"The papers have been very important. They have been the basis for debate, and this exchange has helped develop friendships and future links in youth work.

"Debate here on the rights of peoples not only has been on a theoretical level; we have tried to see how solidarity could be demonstrated in practice.

"The different places we have visited, historical sites and mass organizations, have been very important, since they enabled us to understand more about how Cuban people live and the context in which we have worked.

"In capitalist Europe, for young Europeans in general, it is quite difficult to obtain information about Cuba that is not distorted, but these visits have enabled us to learn the truth about Cuba which we will take back to young people there.

"The meetings with representatives of different Churches in Cuba have been very important, helping us to understand the role of the Church in society."

Frieda Luscher heads Latin American solidarity groups in Switzerland, is the president of the Switzerland-Cuba Friendship Association and a member of the Protestant Church in her country. She told us:

"I agree with what Hector Mendez and Laszlo Pall have said about this meeting, and I have participated in all three--Panama, and Sweden and now here--so I have a point of comparison.

"The nature and preparation of participants and the fact that we met in Cuba prior to the event itself has enabled us to get more done.

"We have taken firm steps for participants to commit themselves to solidarity work in their own countries with the peoples of Central and Latin America and the Caribbean.

"Getting to know Cuba and meeting with political organizations and the Cuban people as a whole contributed to the success of the event.

"In Cuba, it is hard to limit yourself to words. The Cuban people are an example of the Christian doctrine of love for they neighbor. This is a reality here."

Reverend Joachim Ludwig is a pastor of the Reformed Church and heads the youth department of the Federation of French Reformed Churches. He lives in Epernay, which is 150 kilometers east of Paris and, since he was in Cuba in 1980, he has never been cured of "the Cuban sickness, which means that once you have been here you want to come back."

He also had praise for the preparatory work of the Cuban delegation headed by Hector Mendez, which guaranteed the success of the event.

"The spirit of our work" said Ludwig, "is a feeling of solidarity, because all the European participants in one way or another are committing themselves to Latin America solidarity work.

"Before coming to Cuba, European participants visited a Latin American capitalist country, Costa Rica, so they could compare life in the one and in the other.

"At the time of the 1980 meeting in Panama, we visited Nicaragua. The next meeting is set for 1986, in a European country. If it is held in a capitalist country, we will first visit a socialist one, and vice-versa.

"The impact of this visit on Europeans has been so strong that they have had trouble taking it all in, and I am sure they will have a problem in fitting it all into the European framework when they return home.

"We are returning home with greater inspiration and courage to continue the struggle in our own countries."

CSO: 3200/13

UN OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON PRISON SYSTEM, CRIME RATE

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 30 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by Susana Lee]

[Text] DR. ELIAS Carranza, of Argentina, director of the UN Latin American Institute for the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Criminals, was one of the special guests at the 1st Symposium on Politics and Ideology Related to Law. He had words of praise for the delegates' enthusiasm, the depth of the papers discussed, the pace of the work and the broad participation in debates.

He said that the themes discussed were closely related to the UN's concerns in this area and that they will be discussed at the next World Congress on Crime Prevention to be held in 1985.

He added that the Institute's work is directed at improving the living conditions of prison inmates with a view to their rehabilitation and reintegration into society. These tasks are often relegated for other priorities established by the various governments, making the Institute's work very difficult. "This situation," he said, "can best be described in the language used in the reports issued by international organizations, that is, as long as the economic crisis in Latin America exists, all social programs will be curtailed. This is why the UN stresses the need for the establishment of a new international economic order to change the status quo."

He said that he had recently had the opportunity to visit the women's prison in western Cuba, which he described as an exemplary institution complying with UN standards.

"I was impressed by the remarkable relationship between inmates, staff and the community. This does not exist in women's prisons in other countries because their narrow-minded perspective goes against any attempted rehabilitation."

Regarding the paper on criminal law, Dr. Carranza praised Cuba for its many achievements in this field, among them the eradication of certain deviate behavioral patterns, such as prostitution, the very low rate of violent crimes in general, and the almost equal crime rate across the various social sectors, all of which, he said, are serious problems in other countries of the continent.

However, he did not agree with the section of the document that states that all types of crime will be eradicated in the future. "I view such an assertion as overly optimistic," he said. "You have made great progress in this direction with the elimination of certain forms and a considerable reduction in others, but I don't think there's any need to be so absolute."

Regarding conditions in other prisons in Latin America which he had visited, he said, without mentioning any names, that in many of them "conditions tend to be very bad and often infringe basic human rights."

He had seen no begging in Cuba, "which is very positive since it constitutes a relatively important social indicator," because begging goes hand in hand with unemployment and, consequently, an increase in the crime index.

CSO: 3200/14

EMIGRE'S FILM PROVOKES LENGTHY DEFENSE OF HOMOSEXUAL RIGHTS

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 7 Oct 84 p 6

[Text] Cuban filmmaker Tomas Gutierrez Alea, member of the jury of the recent San Sebastian Film Festival (Spain) and director of the film 'Hasta cierto punto' (Up to a Point), prizewinner at the Biarritz Film Festival (France), replies in full to an article written by Nestor Almendros, an emigre from Cuba and director of the documentary 'Improper Conduct,' in which Almendros launches an all-out attack on the Cuban Revolution in general and what he calls 'repression of homosexuals in Cuba' in particular. Almendros' article was published in the New York 'Village Voice' on August 8, 1984, in the readers' column. What follows is a reply by Tomas Gutierrez Alea.

SEVERAL MONTHS ago, while in New York, I had the opportunity to see Improper Conduct, a documentary film by Nestor Almendros and Orlando Jimenez. Mr. Richard Goldstein asked me for my opinion of the film to be published in the Village Voice. And so we did an interview and some of my views were published in a lengthy article entitled "Cuba Si, Macho No!" (Village Voice, July 24, 1984). Several days later the same paper published a reply by Nestor Almendros (Village Voice, August 14, 1984) which made me feel obliged to try to clarify certain things.

Almendros begins by saying that I felt obliged to "officially" attack his film which "must mean that repression of intellectuals and artists is even worse than I'd thought." Frankly, I don't understand the qualifier ("officially") nor the conclusion drawn from all this. It is true that I felt obliged to attack the film. But I was alone in New York. Under those circumstances, nobody could oblige me to say or not say anything. I simply felt obliged to express views according to the principles for which I have always been ready to give my life. This may be quite difficult to understand for people like Almendros and many others who long since cast off principles I remember once seemed to sustain their lives.

'Improper Conduct' Follows Official Washington Policy

And yet the film does form part of an "official" current of U.S. policy on Cuba. The firm nurtures that current of opinion against Cuba which is well orchestrated and well financed by official circles.

I learned through Almendros' response that "Comandante Castro did not approve of [my] last film *Hasta Cierta Punto* (To a Certain Point)." It seems as if Almendros is well informed as to what is going on at a high level in Cuba. However, he continues to say, "Following Castro's lead, the Cuban film critics had to attack Alea and this film, even though the film had won the first prize at the last Latin American Film Festival in Havana." That is not entirely true, because some critics attacked the film and others defended it. Maybe the latter didn't receive their lead in time. Who knows....

No less infantile and ill-intentioned is his claim that he can say without fear, "I very much admire two or three of Alea's films under Castro. On the other hand, Alea cannot say or write in Cuba that he liked the film *El Super*" I have said publicly on more than one occasion and have in my possession a copy of an interview I did in Puerto Rico in which I said, among other things: "I found *El Super* to be a very good film, I would say extraordinary, very revealing and very interesting, but was disappointed with *Crossover Dreams*, with Ruben Blades. It's a throwback ("*VIVA*," *El Reportero*, September 21, 1983). I find the occasion appropriate to explain that *El Super* is interesting because it provides a revealing image of some aspects of Cuban exile in New York: one of those Cuban families that left their country after the triumph of the Revolution, taking advantage of the U.S. government's offer to welcome them "with open arms." The older members of the family never manage to learn English and their daughter has to act as interpreter. It is a pathetic process of a loss of identity in which the old people try to preserve something by traveling to Miami, the closest place with a climate similar to that of Cuba and most populated by Cubans like themselves. The destiny of the daughter is presumably to become a 5th-class "American."

I met with Leon Ichaso in New York and saw his other still unfinished film, with Ruben Blades in the leading role. It destroyed all hopes that can be read into *El Super* for a cinema that reflects, with a certain degree of authenticity, the Latino world in the United States. *Crossover Dreams* is a melodrama that follows a beaten path, with the attraction of Blades' songs. Leon Ichaso told me that after they made *El Super*, they had been labeled pro-communist, which is why they had to be more careful in that direction. A lamentable but revealing story.

Film Reveals Spiritual Poverty of Makers

And what is there to say about Almendros' allusion to *The Last Supper*? *The Last Supper* has precisely all that is lacking in *Improper Conduct*: a historical approach to our reality. Moreover, *The Last Supper* throws light on the present because it is a parable on hypocrisy and the use of religion and the most noble of principles to exploit your neighbor. That is, the use of an ideology for its very negation. And that is a universal idea that cannot be confined to a given moment or place. *Improper Conduct* is an attempt to document what is an "authentic" image of our reality here and now, except that it has no sense of history, no social context, which makes it superficial, a film that revealingly documents the spiritual poverty of its makers.

Lastly, how can Almendros speak of "the military forces Cuba deploys around the world?" Can Cuba really carry out a warmongering policy of aggression against other countries, an imperialist policy? Isn't there a touch of exaggeration in all this? If Almendros is so deeply concerned over the problems implicit in "the deployment of military forces," why has he never protested the existence of U.S. military bases throughout the world, including one in our country? Has he ever said anything against U.S. military interventions in so many other countries? Did he ever protest the recent invasion of Grenada? Did he ever protest the absolute lack of freedom of the press when even U.S. journalists were forbidden to obtain and release on-the-spot information on the development of operations in Grenada? Has he ever said a word about the threat to humanity implicit in the Reagan administration's arms buildup?

Cultural Offensive Against Cuba: A Dirty Game

Ever since I saw this film I've been torn by a question to which I haven't found a satisfactory answer: why does Almendros, after so many years (he emigrated in 1961), after being so successful in the professional field, play such a dirty game? What were his motivations? What were the circumstances that led him to fall into such a situation? It is significant that right now, coinciding with the U.S. administration's policy of aggression toward Cuba, a number of intellectuals (and others barely deserving the name) have launched a "cultural" offensive against Cuba that drew large economic resources from dubious sources. It is obvious that most of these persons have nothing better to do than sell out and try to make a career out of being anti-Cuban. This is not exactly the case of Almendros, who has made a career for himself and is legitimately well established in that world. And yet, almost all these characters appear together in his film, this time concentrating their attacks on Cuba largely around homosexuality. All very well engineered, and very opportune in satisfying the demands of a master who has welcomed them "with open arms" but at the same time demands loyalty in exchange for a good reward.

Almendros knows full well that the most infamous lies can be fabricated out of half-truths. He knows, for example, that UMAP, the work camps where a large number of homosexuals went to do their military service, were a mistake and led to a scandal that fortunately ended with their disappearance and a policy of rectification. UMAP lasted from 1965 to 1967 (not from 1964 to 1969 as Almendros says in his article). In other words, its disappearance dates back some 17 years. However, in the documentary this is dealt with as if it had happened only yesterday or is still in existence. In fact, I remember that one of those interviewed in the film feels the need to make it clear that "UMAP no longer exists but other forms of persecution remain." Almendros knows very well that this is not true. The image of Cuba he presents through a series of anecdotes that have to be believed per se, because of his prestige, is so ridiculously monstrous that we don't know whether to laugh or cry. Almendros knows and makes use of the most notorious clichés about Cuba, the biggest lies that out of sheer repetition aspire to become truth, as old Goebbels used to say. It should be said that Almendros shows little originality in this.

The emotional impact and credibility of some of these testimonies are disturbing enough for those outside Cuba for whom they are intended point-blank, with no prior notice; without the necessary information to be able to correctly evaluate certain situations. The lack of information about the historical and social context in which to situate the revolutionary process is what enables Almendros to deal what in boxing terms is known as a "low blow," and what makes us describe his documentary as basically dishonest.

Any North American who has been in Cuba can easily refute the former tourist guide who appears in the film, telling how he had to do his job in Cuba and making himself out to be a sort of "shepherd" leading his flock of tourists only along permitted paths. Unfortunately, it is the U.S. government that makes it increasingly difficult for the citizens of that country to travel to Cuba and see our reality with their own eyes. Why? What is it that the U.S. government fears its citizens will see in our country? It's a pity it won't let them come, for no one better than a visitor here can say whether their freedom of movement is restricted in Cuba. They could see for themselves whether it is true that men with long hair or a special way of walking are not allowed on the streets. They could, in short, find an answer to many of the concerns the film raises.

Supposed Homophobia and the Revolution

Is it perhaps that supposed homophobia is an invention of the Revolution?

Does it not exist to a greater or lesser degree in the rest of the world and especially among Latin Americans? Incidentally, a large part of the Cuban community in Miami, far removed from revolutionary Cuba, rejected the Almendros film on the grounds it suggested that most Cuban exiles are homosexual. They felt their "manliness" had been questioned. Yet how can one fight against such injustice? In Cuba, for instance, the Ministry of Culture published a book *El hombre y la mujer en la intimidad* (Man and Woman in Intimacy) some five years ago. The author, Siegfried Schnabl, is a scientist, sexologist, psychologist, clinician who heads the Center for Sexual and Marriage Consultations in Karl-Marx-Stadt (GDR). The book has a chapter given over to homosexuality in which can be read:

"We have not included homosexuality as a perversion since it does not exclude a reciprocally rewarding communion and can physically and psychically satisfy two persons. There can, moreover, be true love among homosexuals. Homosexual relations can be just as affectionate as relations between man and woman."

Further on, referring to the causes of homosexuality, it states:

"Completely erroneous opinions are still held by the lay person in this regard. To cite but a few, it is felt that homosexuality is invariably a vice. The result of an immoral transformation in the life of a person, a sexual oversight, a consequence of masturbation, the expression of a flawed character, a shameful act and even the outcome of sexual saturation with the opposite sex. All these 'theories'--that up until recently were supported by certain specialists--have not the slightest scientific foundation.

"Homosexuality cannot be classified as an illness but ought to be viewed as a variant of sexuality. Homosexuals do not suffer from homosexuality but rather from the difficulties stemming from their condition in social life.

"The conventional arguments put forward for a need to prosecute homosexuals have been wholly unsubstantiated and refuted by research. Neither is there any justification for sentences and the emotional prejudices of grandiloquent slogans like 'vice against nature' and 'against the healthy sensitivity of the people.' What adult persons do in private, in mutual agreement, does not violate the moral standards of society and there is, therefore, no need to take action against it.

"Homosexuals, like all other citizens, are entitled to consideration and recognition for their objective achievements and conduct."

I think the above sufficiently illustrates the point. It is important to emphasize here that the above quotes come from a book published by the state for educational purposes.

Of course, this does not mean that the publication of a single book, regardless how "official" it is, will automatically mean that a social phenomenon deeply rooted in the centuries of our Catholic and Spanish past will automatically disappear. Yet such a book where, among other things, the latest scientific criteria on homosexuality appear, is unquestionably a valuable instrument of struggle that the Cuban state makes available to those willing to take up the cause of those who are discriminated against, marginalized and made to suffer prejudice and oppression of any kind.

Priority Need to Survive

When I was being interviewed by Richard Goldstein for the Voice, I said that "in the middle of a battle you can't discuss aesthetics, homosexuality or anything"-- that is, anything that has nothing to do with the immediate need to defend oneself and attack the enemy. It is my contention that the need to survive comes first on the order of priorities. And for us, a small, poor country recently emerging from a secular backwardness, this means an evident need to arm and organize militarily to counter the constant threats of a powerful and rich country that is also one of our nearest neighbors. This obviously limits our ability to resolve other problems, which does not mean that they are not important or that we will not turn our attention to them when we can. We also discuss homosexuality, aesthetics, the problems of women and everything that affects and restricts the full realization of a human being. But none of these problems can be resolved overnight. An absolutely just society where human beings--men or women, homosexuals, blacks, whites or any color--can be fully realized is not, alas, within our reach. A communist society, a paradise on earth, must be peopled by a better people than us in every sense of the word. Yet it is up to us, here and now, with all our shortcomings, to begin building that better society little by little. And I trust that in so doing we also better ourselves. But there are no shortcuts to history. We are aware that we still have a long way to go, a long period of struggle against a powerful enemy and the traitors it welcomes and nurtures.

It is easy to see that ours is no easy or comfortable situation. And yet, under the circumstances, any impartial, unbiased, unresentful observer, any honest and well-informed person can well define what we now have, what we have so far achieved, as nothing short of a miracle. This is not time to recall all that has been achieved in these past 25 years of revolution, but there's one clear fact that reveals a true concern for the human being. In 1958, one year before the Revolution triumphed, the infant mortality rate in Cuba exceeded 70 per 100 live births; by 1982 that figure had dropped to 17.3, Latin America's lowest. The child mortality rate (1-14 age bracket) is similar to that of developed countries. Life expectancy rose from 58 in 1958 to 73.5 by 1982. Bearing in mind that nearly half our doctors and a sizable number of many kinds of professionals and qualified technicians emigrated to the United States, leaving behind a truly critical situation, I think there can be no doubting the tremendous stride forward. This is certainly not the situation in other Latin American countries. I remember that the day I saw *Improper Conduct* one of the leads in the papers was on disturbances in the Dominican Republic, caused by starving people storming supermarkets and being violently repressed by the forces of order. Earlier, Brazil had been in the news with much the same occurrences. In that light, the Almendros film seemed to me particularly out of context, not to say ludicrous.

True, we've not reached communism yet. We do not live in a paradise on earth. We're not yet the people of the future we would like to picture in our minds. Prejudice, injustice and ineptitude are still with us, and we know our struggle against that to be part and parcel of the struggle against those bent on destroying us, on wiping us off the map.

Anticommunism No Moral Alibi

But neither are we the same as 25 years ago. That's why, on reading Almendros' reply to my interview, I can't help feeling a certain sadness over how those who left; who gave up the struggle, lacking confidence in our own strengths to transform this country; who allowed themselves to be seduced by the wealth and comforts the old master offered "with open arms," today hold on to the same mentality of the past, in a desperate attempt not to lose all sense of identity. Perhaps they have not yet realized that the worn anti-communist rhetoric can never provide the moral alibi they need.

CSO: 3200/13

SPAIN'S IBERIA INCREASES FLIGHTS

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 7 Oct 84 p 9

[Text] IN VIEW of European tourists' interest in visiting Cuba, the Spanish airline Iberia will increase the number of its flights to the Caribbean island to three a week.

This was announced by Antonio E. Ramon, Iberia's representative in Cuba, who said that this would make it possible for a larger number of persons from Western European countries to spend their vacations here.

The introduction of a third weekly flight to Cuba last summer had poor results, he said. This time, at the initiative of the Panamanian enterprise HAVANATUR S.A., which also handles tourist trade to Cuba, Iberia will increase the number of regular flights to three, mainly in response to requests from travel agencies in the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Italy, regardless of the fact that Cubana Airlines offers a weekly charter flight from Paris and another charter every 15 days from London. Cubana has also announced that it will soon begin two weekly flights from Milan, Italy.

Spain is Cuba's main link with Western Europe and the number of tourists traveling to Cuba from Spain has increased considerably.

In 1983 Iberia Airlines carried 15 860 passengers from Madrid to Havana and 13 804 from Havana to Madrid. As of August this year it had flown a total of 11 584 to Cuba and 11 195 back to Spain. It is expected that in 1984 between 17 000 and 18 000 tourists will travel via Spain's main airline.

The third Iberia weekly flight will begin on November 4 with the comfortable DC-10, which will also handle freight to and from Havana.

CSO: 3200/14

BRIEFS

BUSINESSMEN, AGRICULTURALISTS FORM GROUP--The National Council of Salvadoran Businessmen /CONAES/ and the Agricultural Reactivation Association /ARA/, with the endorsement of the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, decided yesterday to form a business and agricultural group. The agreement was reached on the part of CONAES by Mr Julio Rivas Gallont and Mr Ramon Diaz Bach Jr, president and vice president, respectively, and by the president of ARA, Mr Luis Rodriguez Quintanilla, before members of both trade union organizations and representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock and the Ministry of Economics. Mr Rivas Gallont stated that CONAES gathers to its bosom many of the country's active sectors that struggle together to improve their respective unions, realizing that agricultural and livestock activities are part of the chain of development. To this effect the president of CONAES recognized the importance of integrating ARA into the council, promising to that organization the formation of a work committee that would give detailed specifications of this sector's needs and their possible solutions. He added that this group, CONAES-ARA, is of historical importance because it unites businessmen and agriculturalists behind a common objective: the reactivation of the country in every respect. For his part the deputy minister of economics, Mr Diaz Bach, stated that ARA's integration with CONAES gives us the option of doing better work and together finding satisfactory goals. As an example, he mentioned that the Caribbean Basin Initiative that the Reagan administration is endorsing for this region will give preferential treatment to cooperatives and jointly involved groups regarding the export of products to the United States. This means that we should not remain isolated, insisted the official and leader of the business council. The president of ARA, Mr Rodriguez Quintanilla, said that this association brings together 450 farmers from all over the country who fully support this agreement. The Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, supervisor of the agricultural and livestock activities in the country, has also given its support to this unification, which embodies the global policies of the agrarian sector. /Text/ /San Salvador DIARIO LATINO in Spanish 23 Sep 84 p 2/ 9907

FRG RECONSTRUCTION LOAN AGREEMENT--This week the governments of El Salvador and the Federal Republic of Germany will sign an agreement by which the Institute of Credit for Reconstruction will grant our country a loan in the amount of 47.5 million FRG marks. The official announcement regarding this agreement was made yesterday afternoon with the following statement: "Today, in the office of the deputy minister of planning, a meeting was held with

officials of the FRG Government who have come to our country to make the necessary preparations for the signing, on 27 September, of the agreement between the government of the Republic of El Salvador and the government of the Federal Republic of Germany relating to financial cooperation by means of which the Kreditanstalt fuer Wiederaufbau (Institute for Reconstruction Grants), Frankfurt am Main, grants a loan of up to 47.5 million FRG marks. The above-mentioned amount will be used to finance the following projects: a) Up to 30 million marks for importing goods and services of FRG origin to be used principally by the private sector and to be channeled through the Central Reserve Bank. b) Up to 9 million marks for the construction of simple dwellings (lots with services), which will be carried out by the Salvadoran Foundation for Minimal Housing, and c) 8.5 million German marks to finance small businesses, a project that will be channeled through and carried out by the Agricultural-Livestock Bank." /Text/ /San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 25 Sep 84 p 3/ 9907

CSO: 3248/35

MEJIA DISCUSSES ECONOMIC CRISIS, TAX REFORMS

Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 12 Oct 84 Sports Supplement p 3

[Message of the chief of state, Gen Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores, to the people of Guatemala, issued by the Secretariat for Public Relations of the Office of the Chief of State in Guatemala City on 9 October 1984]

[Text] Fellow Citizens:

It has been the practice of the government over which I preside to with all clarity and frankness let citizens know the real reasons for or motives behind the decisions that have been made and especially those of national importance.

I am addressing the people of Guatemala to explain the history, characteristics and reasons that have led my government to order the fiscal readjustment about which there has been so much speculation these past few days.

In the exercise of the powers conferred upon it by the Constitution and in the application of an economic policy tied to the political, economic and social circumstances prevailing among us, the government of the republic issued Executive Decrees 96-84 and 97-84, which constitute measures unavoidable for dealing with our problems.

There has been a great deal of speculation these past few days and we ought to congratulate ourselves that this is the case, since it is a real expression of the democratic process all of us Guatemalans are today participating in and which makes room for ideas, of whatever kinds they may be and wherever they may come from.

However, the critical interpretation that has been made of the recently issued fiscal legislation loses its objectivity if one conveniently takes sides with the analysis. It becomes inconsistent when one is not familiar with the circumstances under which our country is progressing and, furthermore, it scarcely becomes constructive because it does not propose genuine possibilities for the solution of problems, basically considering the common interest.

Fellow Citizens:

At the present time our country is experiencing dramatic events in its history. In the course of every instant, in every action that is taken or not taken, the shape of the country our children are going to inherit is being determined, perhaps definitively. So let us review with calm, with understanding and with patriotism, and let us with hope contribute the quota of sacrifice that the sudden attacks of the crisis it is our lot to be going through today call for.

It is above all appropriate to ask ourselves: Why have we Guatemalans sunk to the deepest levels of a widespread crisis?

To what factors should we attribute the overwhelming shortage of foreign exchange?

What are the reasons for the rising rates of unemployment?

What is the reason for the demands for more and better public services?

Why the need for the increase in our police and military defense forces?

Furthermore, why and who are those jointly responsible in the recent past for promoting these situations and squandering the National Treasury?

And lastly, what have all of us Guatemalans done and what are we doing to find the best solutions to this situation?

After 30 years of economic growth, the pace of the economy entered a phase in which it fell into a downturn.

Since 1978, when the growth rate began to decline, the norms and structures of national existence found themselves subjected to the pressure of the effects of the decline in economic activity; signs of recession replaced the expectations of prosperity that had been produced by the prior growth phase.

This was not a passing phenomenon. We have to accept the fact that it is not easy to reconstruct some of the factors that supported economic growth in the past, like, for example, the diversification of farm and livestock exports from 1960 to 1970, relatively easy access to private and public foreign credit, the dynamism of the Central American Common Market and its impact on the country's industrial growth and the accumulation of international monetary reserves.

These factors cannot be readily reproduced because they in turn were dependent on the international economic growth that took place after World War II and which was stimulated by historic imperatives.

I want to emphasize the fact that the current crisis may last longer than we would want it to because of the uncertainty of the economic recovery of the industrialized countries and due to the effect this recovery will have on the Guatemalan economy.

This is not a partial phenomenon; the crisis we are going through is not, as some think, only a shortage of foreign exchange or the existence of state enterprises operating at a loss, as others suppose, or the lack of a "suitable economic policy," as still others think.

Nor is this a crisis produced by presumed government interference with market forces. It is not like that. The crisis is widespread and is affecting practically the whole world, not only Guatemala.

We understand the scope of this phenomenon and we understand too that it is giving rise to feelings of despair in different social groups. We do not share in this discouragement, but we must be honest and clearly recognize that measures must be adopted to see to it that our economy is successful.

In the past, current government revenue was based chiefly on foreign trade, in which agriculture played an important role.

However, the latter suffered the consequences of the worldwide economic recession and, as a product of this recession, international market prices and the volumes of our chief farm products for export suffered considerable drops, which affected revenue obtained from export duties. The negative effect was also reflected in the hard currency revenue produced by exports.

To cite an example, in 1980 export duties on coffee meant 133 million quetzales in fiscal revenue, and only 2 years later, that is, in 1982, that figure dropped sharply to 35 million quetzales with the government losing about 100 million quetzales in revenue.

We must add to the above the fact that in the domestic sector there has in the recent past been a proliferation of many unfortunate government and business policy actions which have also influenced the country's economic and fiscal situation, such as:

A lack of control over the exportation of capital (in the period between 1979 and 1981 alone about \$800 million were antipatriotically transferred abroad).

A development of infrastructure projects as gigantic as it is senseless.

Widespread administrative corruption that reached intolerable heights.

Nor can we fail to mention the growing wave of subversive violence that ended up throwing the national production system out of balance and which contributed to the moral deterioration of Guatemalan society.

The maladjustments in the balance of payments have forced us to take steps for the purpose of seeing to it that production operations essential to the country have access to the foreign exchange necessary for maintaining production, employment and the supplying of goods indispensable to our daily existence.

It is important to get the people of Guatemala to see that, if the fiscal deficit persists to the extent it has these past few years, we will be creating

the conditions for increasing the demand for foreign exchange, for importing goods and services from abroad to the detriment of the availability of foreign exchange that must be maintained to take care of priority needs for the functioning of the economy.

Within the framework of major economic policy options, the government has taken steps to promote a restructuring of the tax system for the dual purpose of stimulating employment and increasing the influx of foreign exchange.

Before proceeding, it is necessary for us to recall a few historic facts:

The tax reform that went into effect in 1982 favored the agricultural export production sector by granting it exemptions and incentives which in 1983 amounted to about 74 million quetzales.

If it were not for these incentives, the domestic situation might now be much more worrisome. From the fiscal standpoint the value added tax, VAT, was designed to be a substitute for the stamp tax on sales, owing to which, on the one hand, the repetitive effect of collection is eliminated, and also because the revenue derived from this tax has been constantly declining due to the anachronistic methods and administrative systems through which it is applied.

The most recent evaluation of this tax determined that, as a first step, the list of exemptions should be restricted, but while keeping products that are basic for the majority of the Guatemalan population free of the "VAT." This modification of the law will permit us to recover the true nature of the tax and to exercise more effective control. This modification is one of the characteristics of the fiscal readjustment.

As concerns the revision of the Stamped Paper [for official documents] and Tax Stamp Tax Law, it must be made clear that its fundamental purpose is to precisely delimit the scope of the acts and contracts to which this tax applies with respect to those subject to the VAT as well as to tax acts of law and contracts that have not been taxed, situations that have been lowering the yield of fiscal revenue. This is the other point that was considered in effecting the fiscal readjustment.

But the fiscal policy of the government I preside over consists not only of this since, as concerns public expenditures, the government has pursued a clearcut policy of cutbacks and austerity and, while some segments of opinion insist that we should continue to apply pressure in this area as the main action in straightening out government finances, this is no longer possible because new reductions would seriously jeopardize suitable provision of the essential services granted citizens and the relatively modest public investments program.

Above all because the final supplementary measures for reducing this year's expenditures budget to an even greater extent, to a figure estimated at 255 million quetzales, have been implemented.

I wish to make it clear that the principal reason for adopting the recent tax measures is not only to balance government finances, but also to redress the balance of payments and promote the recovery of our economy.

In relatively small and dependent economies like the Guatemalan, foreign trade carries a great deal of weight. More foreign exchange to make purchases abroad is demanded to the same extent to which the economy has liquid assets at its disposal.

While the problem we are facing appears as a fiscal imbalance, basically the problem of the Guatemalan economy also lies in a shortage of foreign exchange stemming in part from the most serious worldwide recession the Western world has experienced since the 1930's.

This recession has resulted in a drop in our exports. On the other hand, the fiscal policy adopted until March 1982 resulted in fiscal deficits financed through the simple expedient of domestic credit, the effect of which was a greater demand for imported products, which contributed to the imbalance in the balance of payments. We realize that our long-term solution is to increase production, especially the production of goods that we sell abroad.

We are, however, fully aware that this cannot be accomplished overnight.

Put as simply as possible, our problem lies in guaranteeing that the economy has at its disposal the foreign exchange needed to import medicines, energy products, the basic articles for national consumption and the raw materials indispensable to maintaining the employment of the Guatemalan working class.

To this end this government has adopted a strategy within which the promulgation of Executive Decrees 96-84 and 97-84 constitute only one component.

The measures that this government has just promulgated do not constitute an isolated act, but are part of a global strategy that has to be adopted to resolve a fiscal situation which, although it has been inherited from previous governments, we do not wish to pass on to the next government.

The grave economic situation we have inherited demands immediate solutions because its effects are cumulative. If they are not adopted now, the government that succeeds us is going to have to assume them, and to a much more severe extent.

This would be regrettable for a government that is initiated for the purpose of strengthening a democratic system. Situations that produce economic maladjustments do not help to consolidate democracies. What we are doing is to try to bequeath to a future constitutional government an economy that is on the road to soundness so that democracy can be preserved in the future.

We are aware of the sacrifice these measures represent for the people of Guatemala and we know that, in adopting them, we are not reaping applause.

Nevertheless, we also know that, the longer we postpone cleaning up our finances, the more serious our foreign trade imbalance will become and the stability of our currency abroad will be endangered.

The problem is not one of short duration and it would be a historic error to cling to the hope that "invisible hands" may generate solutions to the problems the economic and fiscal situation has created for us.

Their nature and magnitude require firm action on the part of all Guatemalans and a systematic action on the part of the government to ensure that our standards of living are not disrupted by the effects of these problems.

The government accepts its responsibility because, as I said before, within the framework of the process of the country's political institutionalization we do not want to leave a ruined economy to a future government.

The society must become aware of the gravity of this urgent problem. Responsible for keeping watch over the protection of the population during a particularly difficult period, as of today the government is initiating a clearly defined policy to see to it that the population will have available to it the basic elements needed for its normal development in terms appropriate to this difficult situation so that it may succeed in reviving the economy.

To this end the government will mobilize all those economic and social forces they may contribute to guaranteeing the country a supply of food and energy, the availability of products and raw materials for its basic production operations, that people who at present have jobs do not lose them, that those who have lost them regain them and that citizens safely make the transition to political institutionalization.

For this purpose the government has firmly decided to make the best possible use of resources, like foreign exchange and fiscal revenue, through the austerity the circumstances demand.

In this way, and regardless of how our relations with the International Monetary Fund evolve, the government's finances will be managed with caution and frugality, while seeking a gradual reduction of the budget deficit.

What we Guatemalans must at no time forget is the following:

First:

That our country is going through a period involving a difficult economic and financial situation, much more serious than the one that occurred in the 1930's, a situation to which the government has repeatedly referred. Guatemala is part of the aggregate of interdependent nations on the world market, with an open economy that makes it very vulnerable to the changes that take place on a worldwide scale.

Second:

That the economic and financial situation has continued to deteriorate despite actions taken by the government, which include the systematic and sensible of public expenditures, budget cuts and the reduction of transfers to decentralized institutions.

Policy is in keeping with the adjustment processes that all countries, and well, are setting in motion and it fully justifies the tax laws that have been adopted, as harsh as they may seem, to get us through the critical phase we are going through.

To do nothing at this time would involve running very great risks, since the corrective actions we would have to adopt in the future would be much more drastic, negatively affecting the bulk of the population, particularly those with little means, as well as the stability of future governments produced by the democratization process that is just now beginning.

Third:

That all of us must be involved in the job of improving Guatemala.

It is a responsibility that falls on us all equally, on the people as well as the government.

Fourth:

That, since a lack of definition often serves to encourage speculation, I want to take advantage of this opportunity to tell you citizens of Guatemala what what we have been referring to as fiscal readjustment is:

In short, it is nothing more than a restriction of the list of VAT exemptions and a revision of the amount of the stamped paper tax.

Fifth:

That the economic-financial crisis we are suffering from today is composed of a number of very complex problems in which structural and conjunctural, domestic and foreign factors merge.

Furthermore, they evolve within a broad context in which political, social and cultural and economic factors produce effects with equal force.

In the final analysis they determine the adoption of equally complex decisions.

Fellow Citizens:

On this occasion I have tried to present to the people of Guatemala an overall view of our economic and fiscal situation so that the country may know exactly what the real situation is at the present time and what prospects we foresee.

In view of this in no way rosy situation, all of us Guatemalans without exception must realize that alone we can save ourselves, but to do so all of us must contribute our own quota of sacrifice.

Of those businessmen, who have always been granted aid in the name of the government and the Guatemalan collectivity, I ask for their understanding at this crucial moment for the country in doing everything that is humanly possible to avoid laying off workers; I ask also for their understanding in terms of the recent fiscal readjustment since the government needs financial resources, not only to take care of its ordinary expenses, but also to cover defense needs in which domain we cannot make cuts unless we wish to run the risk of a new increase in subversion.

Subversion which my government has dealt with in the military with firmness and decision as well as creating and promoting centers of development in order to restore to their communities all those fellow citizens who, victims of the crime of subversion, were forced to abandon their homes and, in the worst cases, to seek refuge in neighboring countries.

Given the atmosphere of peace and calm that is getting stronger day by day and the confidence that is gradually being regained, they have built and rebuilt several communities in the triangle formed by Ixil in El Quiche, Chisec in Alta Verapaz and Huehuetenango in Playa Grande, as well as in Peten.

These fellow citizens have been provided with decent housing, with the health services and living facilities they require and are offered cooperation, guidance and economic and technical assistance so that they may generate funds through farm production and small industry.

These projects cost approximately 37.5 million quetzales.

On the other hand, funds are needed to repair the damage done to our highway network these past few days by bad weather, due to washouts and landslides. It has also been necessary to temporarily relocate the homes of the inhabitants of those communities that were victims of floods due to the overflowing of several of the country's principal rivers and their tributaries so that they could later be reconditioned.

We have to help those small farmers who, due to the torrential rains and floods, have seen their crops hit and have suffered heavy losses, in stockraising activities as well.

This is not a job that can be done overnight; it is a continuous and gradual effort for which, as I said earlier, we must take constant care to follow the normal rhythm of the country's life, providing essential services within the limits permitted by the budget for the entire nation, it being necessary to maximally exploit fiscal resources to support activities like those I have already enumerated and which had not been contemplated.

My government will not hesitate to make all the decisions that may be necessary to deal with our problems. These decisions will be carefully analyzed and weighed and they will be opportune.

It is very probable that some sector may be particularly affected, but it must be understood that in our deliberations the national interest is basic and has priority.

We will adopt great remedies for the great misfortunes that oppress us.

I pledge my best efforts in the certainty that Guatemalans will share with my government in the tenacious effort required at the present time.

Many thanks.

11,466

CSO: 3248/46

PRI LEADERSHIP BODIES TO BE RESTRUCTURED FOR 1985 ELECTIONS

Mexico City UNOMASUNO in Spanish 16 Oct 84 p 4

[Article by Ubaldo Diaz and Roberto Santiago]

[Excerpt] The Institutional Revolutionary Party will be restructuring all of its leadership bodies over the coming weeks so that it can perform efficiently in the federal elections of July 1985, Deputy Hector Hugo Olivares Ventura, the party's organizational secretary, asserted yesterday.

The announcement was made during a meeting with the organizational secretaries of all the PRI committees in the states and the Federal District. The meeting was opened by PRI's assistant secretary general, Manuel Garza Gonzalez, who said that the effort is being made so that the party is in good shape to meet "its electoral responsibilities" next year.

Speaking at the meeting, Deputy Olivares Ventura remarked that organizational tasks are not the exclusive province of the Executive Committee; rather, everyone has a responsibility to become involved in political advocacy and organization.

He indicated that PRI's 12th National Assembly issued categorical instructions to strengthen the entire organization. These instructions embody the demands and the wisdom of the party's activists and attach the utmost importance to organizational efforts at every level.

Therefore, he added, "we feel that we have a joint responsibility towards all bodies in our national and sectoral structure, because the point is to make the organization the hub of the efforts that our declaration of principles and our program of action are promoting."

The lawmaker also remarked that this meeting should be considered a logical follow-up to the efforts exerted at the PRI assembly. Accordingly, leaders are doing their job of assessing results, posting gains and working out agreements.

MEXICO

FORMER GUERRERO GOVERNOR ACKNOWLEDGES IMPACT OF GUERRILLAS

Warning on Cabanas' Brother

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 10 Sep 84 p 37-A

[Article by Enrique Diaz Clavel]

[Excerpts] Acapulco, Guerrero, 9 Sep--Former Governor Ruben Figueroa acknowledged today that "if there had been no guerrillas, led by Lucio Cabanas, in the Guerrero highlands, acute social problems would not have been tackled." At the same time, he repeated his warning that Dante Cabanas, one of the dead guerrilla's brothers, is seeking to revive "the struggle that cost so many lives, but the authorities will surely not allow this."

He said that he was certain that "by vigorously combatting this group of agitators, the entire republic will be able to live in peace, because there is no reason for people to take up arms and try to do away with the prevailing order." Ruben Figueroa, whom the rebels held hostage for 103 days during Luis Echeverria's 6-year term of office, stressed that many people lost their lives as a result of the guerrilla movement. Lucio Cabanas himself left three widows behind.

He has pleasant memories of Genaro Rojas, "who was also in the highlands but was not as aggressive as Lucio, because he never killed anyone." He said that he was "retired from politics," cautioning, however, that:

"There has to be political stability, because Mexico has an army that arose from the revolution, and it was the one that put an end to 7 years of guerrilla activity in Guerrero."

Assurances From Zone Commander

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 11 Sep 84 p 7-D

[Article by Enrique Diaz Clavel]

[Text] Acapulco, Guerrero, 10 Sep--There are no guerrillas in the state, and drug trafficking has diminished considerably as a result

of the constant vigilance of troops, both on foot and in vehicles and helicopters, the commander of the 27th Military Zone, Carlos Gomez Ruiz, said.

He contended that there is total calm in his jurisdiction, which includes both coasts and this port, and that the army provides full protection for the residents of Guerrero.

With regard to the report that a brother of Lucio Cabanas Barrientos is forming subversive groups, Gen Gomez Ruiz stressed that there are no armed groups in any corner of the state.

The people of Guerrero are working and producing, and there is not the slightest possibility that a subversive group will crop up, either in the highlands or along the coasts of this state, he concluded.

8743

CSO: 3248/32

MEXICO

STATE OF MEXICO UNVEILS NEW PUBLIC SAFETY PROGRAM

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 30 Sep 84 p 34-A

[Article by Manuel Lino]

[Text] Almoloya de Juarez, Mexico, 29 Sep--The government of the State of Mexico today kicked off an ambitious state safety program under which police protection will be beefed up for close to 10 million inhabitants.

As the cornerstone of the future Police College was put in place, the announcement was made that security personnel would be expanded, more weapons brought in and the police vehicle fleet enlarged. A program has also gotten under way to improve the ethics and enhance the education of security forces members.

Government Undersecretary Gerardo Ruiz Esparza indicated that there would be incentives for policemen to show an interest in safeguarding the lives and property of citizens.

He indicated that from now on, so that people will be able to distinguish the members of the various police forces, personnel in the Directorate of Public Safety and Transit would be called agents and wear blue and white uniforms; the "guardianes" would be the traditional municipal policemen, wearing gray uniforms with blue stripes, and the "vigilantes" would be the auxiliary police.

Capt Jesus Antonio Buentello indicated that with the increase in trained personnel, the additional weaponry, the enlarged vehicle fleet and the improved training of cadets, the police would be in a better position to combat crime.

8743

CSO: 3248/32

DEVELOPMENT OF SANDINISTA STRATEGY, ORGANIZATION, IDEOLOGY

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian, No 5, May 84 (signed to press 26 Apr 84) pp 83-95

[Article by Candidate of History N.Yu. Smirnova, under the rubric: "The CPSU and the World Communist Movement": "The Shaping of the Party of the Nicaraguan Revolution"]

[Text] American imperialism is the chief oppressor of downtrodden peoples and the main military, ideological-political and economic center of international reaction. Socioeconomic and political conflicts and antagonism between the working classes and strata, on the one hand, and imperialism and the oligarchy, on the other, are becoming increasingly potent in the nations of Latin America. A revolutionary situation is emerging in many nations of that continent, and the peoples are rising up for a liberation struggle against imperialism and its henchmen.

Not all of the efforts will produce success, V.I. Lenin wrote, "until the struggle is directed by a strong organization of revolutionaries."¹ This has been borne out by all the experience in history.

The anti-imperialist, popular revolution in Nicaragua laid the foundation for profound socioeconomic and political changes when it destroyed the Somoza dictatorship in July of 1979. One of the central tasks facing the revolutionaries who came to power was that of organizing a party of Nicaraguan workers capable of leading the revolutionary process in the nation at the democratic stage of development and of creating the conditions necessary for its further expansion.

The process of forming a revolutionary party in Nicaragua was a difficult one and has actually not yet been completed. However, we can already see that definite successes have been achieved in the creation of the party, despite the extremely difficult internal and external conditions for developing the revolution in the nation.

The uniqueness of Nicaragua's social and political structure, which began to develop with the establishment of the Somoza regime in the nation in the thirties, has produced a number of specific features in the national

revolutionary process. One of these was the formation of a revolutionary front prior to July 1979 and the gradual creation of a workers' party by the Sandinistas after they gained power. The Nicaraguan experience in this area of revolutionary creativity is of value to other peoples fighting for their total liberation. This has made it necessary and urgent to study that experience.

This article is an attempt to analyze the history of the creation and development of Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front and to review the efforts of the Sandinistas to strengthen the role of the FSLN [Sandinista National Liberation Front] in the nation's social and political life today and ultimately, to build a party of the workers in the situation of a victorious revolution.

Nicaragua's history has been marked by repeated popular demonstration against imperialist domination, particularly that of the United States. This has given the people experience in combating foreign and local oppressors and has developed the forms and methods of the popular, anti-imperialist movement. Participants in the national liberation war of 1927-1933 led by Augusto Cesar Sandino, Nicaragua's national hero, revolutionary and patriot, made a special contribution to this experience. It would be difficult to overstate the importance of that war. The main task of the revolutionaries in Nicaragua in the twenties and thirties was accomplished. The American invaders were driven from the nation. Experience was acquired in conducting armed, anti-imperialist warfare and the partisan movement, and this experience influenced subsequent development of the anti-Somoza actions. Sandino and his fellow fighters chose armed warfare as the main form of struggle. This was understandable in the situation of American occupation of the nation. The Sandinistas considered the partisan movement, with broad participation by the popular masses, to be the main element in the anti-imperialist war. It was precisely due to their active popular support that Nicaragua's patriots succeeded in liberating the territory from the presence of U.S. armed forces.

The first period of the liberation movement in Nicaragua ended with the defeat of the Sandinistas and A.S. Sandino's murder, which was carried out in 1934 at the order of A. Somoza Senior. After the establishment of the Somoza dictatorship everything possible was done to erase the names and the feats of the Sandinistas from the people's memory with overt terror and to destroy the combat and literary legacy of A.S. Sandino and his fellow-fighters.

The anti-imperialist, anti-dictator struggle in Nicaragua, which was halted for a time, was gradually stepped up once again at the end of the thirties and especially in the fifties. Demonstrations against the dictatorship were renewed, and attempts began to be made to organize armed actions against Somoza.

In the mid-fifties a new generation of Nicaraguan revolutionaries began the systematic study of the traditions of anti-imperialist movements, particularly of the period when A.S. Sandino was active, in a quest for effective ways to combat the Somoza clan. The young revolutionaries also began a critical study of the work of the Nicaraguan communists, who united into the Nicaraguan

Socialist Party [PSN] in 1944. First of all they concluded that Sandino's experience had demonstrated the possibility of conducting a successful armed struggle in Nicaragua over a long period of time. In the situation of military and political dictatorship it was decided to pursue the struggle by armed means. This decision was supported also by the unsuccessful anti-dictatorial efforts of the PSN members, who were falling back in the economic struggle.

Nicaragua at that time was an agrarian nation with a backward economy. The working masses, concentrated mainly in agriculture, were employed in the cities at enterprises turning out semi-finished goods. In general, the working class had not yet developed in the nation. The Nicaraguan proletarians had a low level of class awareness. They were fertile soil for the spread of reformist ideas and sentiments.

By the mid-fifties, for these and other reasons, the Nicaraguan revolutionary movement was faced with the task of creating a military-political organizations capable of mobilizing the masses to combat the Somoza regime and of leading them in the overthrow of the dictatorship. The matter of forming one of the main elements of the subjective factor for the future revolution in Nicaragua was added to the agenda.

The example of the Cuban revolution, which was victorious in January of 1959 and which reconfirmed the fact that armed struggle comes to the fore in a situation of military-political regimes, also influenced the decision of the Nicaraguan revolutionaries to organize a military-political association.

In 1961 a group of young fighters consisting of Carlos Fonseca, Silvio Mayorga, Jorge Navarro, Jose Benito Escobar, Tomas Borge and others, together with A.S. Sandino's comrade-in-arms Santos Lopez, founded the National Liberation Front. It was given Sandino's name in 1963 as though to symbolize the linkage and succession of the old and the new guard of revolutionaries in Nicaragua. "I believe it is our duty to take action," Carlos Fonseca wrote, "but there can be no action without organization."²

During the first years of the Sandinista Front's existence the main stress was on preparing for and conducting armed actions against the Somoza regime. During the period from 1961 to 1967 the Sandinista actions were mainly carried out in the form of attacks and incursions into Nicaraguan territory from across the border. The following must be mentioned among the conquests of the initial period of the FSLN's operations: elimination of the disunited nature of anti-dictatorial, armed actions of previous years, which were isolated operations by various anti-Somoza groups; the practical combining of the anti-imperialist, democratic traditions and forms used for Sandino's struggle with the demands of Nicaragua's revolutionary movement in the sixties; and the systematic, gradual uniting of revolutionary elements round the FSLN. Furthermore, the experience of the first years of armed struggle met with the broad political response within the nation. It demonstrated once again the possibility of conducting a guerrilla--that is, a partisan struggle--in Nicaragua itself.

The period of the FSLN's development coincided with the years of increasingly severe methods of control in Nicaragua by the Somoza dictatorship. This was manifested in the employment, with the support of imperialist circles of the United States, of such forms of aggression against the people as murder, torture, the persecution of trade union organizations and rigid censorship. It was also linked with the assumption of power by Anastasio Somoza Junior and even more thorough concentration of the controls of the state and military machine in the dictator's hands.

The actions against the dictatorship continued, however, despite the unleashing of overt terror to suppress any expression of popular dissatisfaction. A number of anti-Somoza actions by various social groups were crowned with success at the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies. Several groups of political prisoners were freed as a result of mass protests by students, blue- and white-collar workers. Teachers organized an extremely long string in 1970, and in 1972 residents of a number of the nation's regions rose up to protest the hiking of prices. The years 1973 and 1974 were marked by mass strikes by city workers and actions by the peasants in various Nicaragua's departments in defense of their land holdings.

Events of 1972, when an earthquake occurred in Nicaragua with the epicenter in Managua, the capital, also did a great deal to strengthen anti-dictatorial sentiments and to create the conditions necessary for organizing extensive opposition in the nation. Residents of the urban regions suffered as a result of his disaster, and most of the production enterprises were demolished. There began unprecedented speculation in housing construction and the sale of parcels of land for development. The dictator and his nearest relatives were the main participants in these machinations. The general misfortune of the people brought them enormous profits. This results in even greater exacerbation of conflicts not only between Somoza and the laboring people, but also between the Somoza clan and various groups of the propertied classes.

While A. Somoza's first term as president ended at the end of 1971 in a situation of worsening economic and political conditions in the nation, the situation deteriorated even further in 1972. All this produced the conditions necessary for the gradual formation of an extensive anti-Somoza coalition of various social forces. The Sandinistas also had specific tasks to perform in this respect, the main one being to reinforce the FSLN's position among the population and to strengthen its internal structure, which would make it possible for the Front gradually to gain the role of military-political vanguard of the anti-dictatorial forces in Nicaragua.

As early as 1969 the FSLN prepared and adopted its first program, which formulated the goals of the struggle at the democratic stage of the revolution in Nicaragua. The program defined the Front "as a military-political organization, the strategic mission of which is to take over political power by destroying the military-bureaucratic machine of the dictatorship and to establish a Revolutionary Government based on an alliance of workers and peasants and uniting all the nation's anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchical, patriotic forces."³

In subsequent documents the Sandinista leaders developed the idea that the "FSLN should gain strength as Nicaragua's first popular and proletarian political force," which differs from the others in its understanding of the historical role of the proletariat and its faith in a proletarian military-political organization.⁴

During that period the Sandinistas were devoting a great deal of attention to the work performed among the urban workers and those in the rural areas. Many of the leaders and cadres at the middle and lower levels in the Sandinista Front came out of the worker milieu. Furthermore, part of the founders of the Front were linked with the Nicaraguan Socialist Party and possessed skills and experience in dealing with the workers, which helped the FSLN members to strengthen their influence among the latter.

Despite Nicaragua's poor economic development and its small proletariat, the FLSN leadership constantly demanded that the Front members devote special attention to the workers at the factories and outside the factories, in the residential areas.⁴ Carlos Fonseca repeatedly stated that the workers have to be given an understanding of their historical role. This brought about participation by the Sandinistas in the trade union movement and in the organization of city trade unions and various committees for the struggle.

In the meantime reality was creating the task of forming a broad anti-dictatorial alliance, that is, of enlisting workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, the petite bourgeoisie and the local bourgeoisie as a whole for the struggle against the Somoza forces. Fonseca called that alliance of anti-dictatorial forces "an underground political front." In order to accomplish the task it was necessary to enlarge and strengthen the Front's organizational structure. Fonseca wrote the following "An Appeal to the Nicaraguan People" in 1970: "We call upon you to organize underground Sandinista committees capable of heading the partisan struggle in the social and political sense in the rural area, in the mountains and in the cities. An underground Sandinista committee must be formed at every factory, in each block, at every training center, in every office and church."⁶

Beginning in 1970, and especially following the events of 1972, the Sandinistas launched a vigorous effort to create a network of its cells throughout the territory and increased its influence in each department. During those years regional, zonal, district and primary Front committees under the supervision of the FSLN's highest body, the National Directorate were being organized.

The FSLN was created to perform the tasks involved in an armed struggle against the dictatorship. It therefore had no duplicate structures, military and political, but only a single military-political structure. The process of building up the Front's forces--cadres, weapons and so forth--developed especially intensively during the period from 1970 to 1974. The Sandinistas would not only have to engage in a prolonged partisan war, but also to create the conditions necessary for uniting all the nation's anti-dictatorial forces round the Front.

One of the first actions carried out after the Front had built up its forces was the operation conducted by the Sandinistas on 27 December 1974. It was codenamed "Juan Jose Quesada."⁷ It was an aggressive propagandistic, military-political operation and was to accomplish a number of tasks. It was directed against A. Somoza's second assumption of the position of national president as a result of a rigged election. It also helped the Front to achieve satisfaction of a certain portion of the demands it had set for the dictator--the release of some of the Sandinistas from prison, the publishing of some of the aims of its program in the press, and others. In general, the operation resulted in strengthened positions for the Sandinistas among the masses.

Frightened by the scope of the Sandinista movement, Somoza established a fascist regime in Nicaragua after usurping presidential power in the nation. The militarization of the regime and its adoption of a fascist orientation further increased Nicaragua's dependency on North American imperialism, because after that the U.S.'s economic aid was extended primarily for reinforcing the military machine of tyranny. Martial law and military tribunals were established in Nicaragua, and a campaign of persecution was launched against the progressive press, progressive forces in the Catholic Church and religious sects criticizing legalized policy of genocide. The physical extermination of the Sandinistas began. The dictator made it the task to totally destroy the FLSN.

Events following the December operation in 1974, right up to the armed actions by the FSLN in October of 1977, demonstrated that the Sandinistas' hopes for a general national upsurge in the revolutionary movement and the rapid overthrow of the dictatorship had not been justified. Acts of repression against the Sandinistas had prevented the partisan movement from becoming aggressive and made it difficult to develop the armed struggle of the Sandinistas.

In general, a revolutionary situation with its characteristic features of which V.I. Lenin spoke had not developed in the nation.⁸ The subjective factor in the revolution was still weak, and the resolve of the masses to back up the Sandinistas for overthrowing the dictatorial regime had not come to fruition. The FSLN had not yet become the military and political vanguard of all the anti-Somoza forces. This task became absolutely urgent for the Front after 1974, when the dictatorship was sparing no effort to destroy the Sandinista Front.

All of this forced the Sandinistas to thoroughly analyze their work and the forms and methods of their struggle against the dictatorship. This resulted in a demarcation of views on a number of tactical issues within the leadership of the Sandinista Front.

However, the FSLN's experience indicated precisely that they should accept as correct those principles of the Front which had comprised the basis for its activities prior to the split of the Sandinista ranks: The general line of the anti-Somoza movement must be one of constant armed struggle with broad participation by the popular masses. Precise organization of the armed struggle itself at the general, national level and active work by the revolutionaries among the masses were essential in order to launch such a struggle. The accomplishment of these two tasks was progressing only gradually, however, and many objective and subjective difficulties were encountered on the way. "It would not be reasonable," wrote Eduardo Contreras, one of the FSLN

leaders, "to think that the Sandinista revolution is the result of the abilities and the art of a small group of people. Our revolution is something greater than that.... The deprived classes are the true agent of our liberation."⁹

By the mid-seventies the FSLN on the whole was a military-political organization with a precisely defined structure, with military subdivisions and an ideological and political platform expressed in the FSLN's program documents.

Commenting on the various viewpoints which existed in the Front at that time, Fonseca characteristically made the following statement in one of his works written in the last year of his life (1976): "Let us consider the linkage between the party and the partisan struggle.... Any real revolutionary party is born in battle, and while Cuba is the best-known example for us, this does not mean that it was the first. The parties also came into being in battle in Russia, Vietnam, China, Korea and Algeria.... Let us not forget that we are not just taking the first step. There is a minimum of 15-20 years of work behind us. ...Although we do not yet have a party with a central committee and congresses, newspapers and theoretical journals, it is essential to accomplish certain party tasks right now. We need to study national problems at a higher level than we previously have, especially in the zones of combat operations; to combine the military training more thoroughly with the political training; to strengthen our ties with the exploited masses; to avert an ideological split in the FSLN; to step up our political work without detriment to the military work.... Would it therefore not be more correct to say it is still early to call ourselves a party as we accomplish all of these modest task"?¹⁰

In 1977 the Sandinistas began permanent combat operations against the dictatorial regime, relatively isolated from the masses in the beginning but growing into united actions by all the nation's anti-dictatorial forces somewhat later.

As a result of those operations in 1977 and 1978 it became obvious that it was essential to unite the political and military efforts of the Sandinistas and to work out a common plan for the offensive against the dictatorship. In March of 1979 representatives of the three trends signed a declaration restoring the Front's unity. R. Arismendi stated in an analysis of the Nicaraguan revolution that "the results were soon in evidence in both the political respect and with respect to unitary program and tactical operations."¹¹ This permitted the FSLN to unite all the anti-Somoza organizations and groups more closely round itself.

The Somoza dictatorship was overthrown on 19 July 1979. The Sandinistas came to power in an alliance with the nation's anti-dictatorial forces.

When the Sandinistas and their allies came into power they faced the tasks involved in the democratic stage of the revolution as defined in the program of Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction and based on the previous program demands of the Sandinistas.

When they defined the main directions for developing revolutionary reforms, the FSLN indicated "the two main forces: the mass organizations and the state system."¹² The most important tasks of the FSLN, which the Sandinistas regarded as an integrated whole, were therefore those of organizing the working masses into unions and conducting a state policy conforming to the interests of all the laboring people. In addition, the Sandinista Front had to have its own cadres both in the mass organizations and in the state system for accomplishing those tasks. The matter of organizing a revolutionary party out of the FSLN as the nucleus of the political system for the Nicaraguan society therefore assumed prime importance in the democratic stage of the revolution.

The Sandinista leaders have repeatedly stated that "in the difficult and complicated stage of national reconstruction it is the FSLN's main objective to eliminate the remains of exploitation and create a new society.... It is essential to direct attention to the highest organization, the only organization capable of leading the revolution through to its ultimate goals, the only one capable of leading the mass organization and all of the people to total liberation.... This is why it is important to have a revolutionary party in Nicaragua...."¹³

After coming into power and directing the first democratic reforms as a military and political organization, the FSLN set itself the task of reorganizing the Front structure as soon as possible to permit it to head the state system and mobilize the masses to implement the democratic program. The Front's organizational restructuring was begun. The FSLN's military functions were turned over to the revolutionary armed forces, and the Front's highest organs and its middle element of control were formed in the capital and in the nation's departments. The regrouping of the Sandinista cadres in the different areas of work had been completed and the main structure of the FSLN had been formed by the end of 1979.

In 1980, however, the Sandinistas were forced to admit that the existing structure did not measure up to the essential demands, that the small organizationally established number of revolutionaries was not adequate for the Front to perform the role of political vanguard of the revolution. The need to organize a revolutionary party was officially raised at the 3d Assembly of the FSLN in September of 1980. The problem of creating "a new type of revolutionary party" began to be discussed in organs of the FSLN's press. This was the beginning of the active preparation of public opinion for the establishment of a progressive party of the Nicaraguan workers. The assembly also approved changes in the Front's organizational structure, which were to bring the system of directing and other bodies of the FSLN into closer conformity with the party structure.¹⁴

For one thing, it was decided to establish the Sandinista Assembly as a consultative and auxiliary level of the FSLN's National Junta for making important decisions pertaining to the Front's charter and program, to the policy of the class and political alliances within the nation, to questions of international relations and to the development of main directions and forms of work to be performed with the masses.

The FSLN also established the Political Commission of the FSLN, consisting of three members of the Front's National Junta. It replaced the former Executive Committee. Bayardo Arce Castano became its coordinator. This commission was required to represent the National Junta in the intervals between its working sessions and to handle all questions of the National Junta of the FLSN, specifically coordination of the work of the State Commission and the Commission for Defense and Security, which were formed along with the Political Commission.

The State Commission was encharged with monitoring the fulfillment of plans for Nicaragua's economic and social development and the functioning of state institutions. The other commission had the same sort of functions, but in the area of national defense and security.

The National Secretariat, the Front's main executive body, was reinforced by adding to its membership two members of the National Junta. Responsible for the implementation of FSLN decisions and for the implementation of its political line, the National Secretariat had a number of sections for those purposes, which were reorganized in September of 1980 into Front departments for the various areas of work.

The National Junta with its former make-up continued to be the Front's chief directing body. One of the specific features of the revolution, collective leadership of the FSLN, was thereby established.

Along with establishing the new Front organs the assembly also stressed the importance of building up the middle management level. The creation of organizations at the lower level was regarded as an extremely important task. The Front was represented in the departments by departmental management committees, and zonal management committees operated in the zones. The structure at the lower level was to be formed of primary Sandinista committees. It was their chief task not just to implement FSLN policy, but especially to involve the broad masses in the implementation of the national restoration program and plans, and to develop their evolutionary creativity and initiative.¹⁵

These basic organizational reforms outlined at the September 1980 Assembly of the FSLN marked the beginning of the process of shaping a revolutionary party and helped to strengthen the Front's organizational structure and to reinforce its ideological positions.

The first session of the Sandinista Assembly in February of 1981 was an important landmark in the process of creating the new party. It discussed economic and military matters and the Front's links with mass organizations. A great deal of attention was also given to matters of party organizational development.

By decision of the assembly, two commissions were established: one to write the charter for the Sandinista Front and one to study the role of the Nicaraguan working class in the revolution. Honored Sandinistas were accepted into the Sandinista Front. In general, the first session of the Sandinista Assembly

of the FSLN played an important role in the founding of the party. The establishment of the two aforementioned commissions was also highly important.

It is important to note that in 1981 the Sandinistas were already underscoring the fact that the FSLN was "the vanguard of the working class and of the entire Nicaraguan people," since in addition to workers, the front ranks also included representatives of the peasants, blue-collar workers and the intelligentsia.¹⁶

At the same time the Sandinistas continued to devote a great deal of attention to the work performed among urban and rural workers and to the advancement of revolutionary elements of the working class to positions of leadership and the middle and lower levels of the FSLN.

By performing the directing role in the process of the democratic reforms, by uniting the more consistent revolutionaries and by setting the goal of building a new society free of exploitation in Nicaragua, the Sandinista National Liberation Front itself thereby served as the foundation for the establishment of the revolutionary party.

The party's organizational development also involved the uniting of revolutionary elements round the FSLN and their gradual integration into the Front. A group of members of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party headed by A. Ramirez joined the Front in January of 1981, for example. The founding of the Patriotic Revolutionary Front served the same purpose.

A number of factors simplified the establishment of a revolutionary party in Nicaragua after 19 July 1979, despite the fact that the process had not been completed. In the first place, the Sandinista Front was in power, permitting it to mobilize all available resources for the achievement of that specific objective. In the second place, in matters of building a revolutionary party in Nicaragua's situation the Sandinistas had guidelines in the form of the legacy left by the founders and leaders of the FSLN, who died in the seventies. In the third place, the international experience of the liberation movement and its assistance to the FSLN were highly important for the accomplishment of the task. In addition to this, the functions of a political organization were established in the Front when it was founded and had been performed by it along with the military functions throughout the period of struggle against the dictatorship.

An example of the initial phase in the formation of a Nicaraguan revolutionary party by the Sandinistas against the background of general patterns in the building of a revolutionary party makes it possible to identify certain specific features characteristic of the given period. The FSLN was used as the basis for beginning the organization of a revolutionary party in Nicaragua. The proletarian party is being organized in a nation with a poorly developed working class with an inadequate class awareness, and this will undoubtedly be one of the difficulties which the Sandinistas will have to overcome. Finally, the Sandinistas intend to create the party by gradually integrating into it the more revolutionary elements of the leftist parties, particularly the Nicaraguan Socialist Party. This can also be identified as a specific feature of the Nicaraguan experience.

As it organized the revolutionary party the FSLN devoted a great deal of attention to strengthening its leading role in the revolutionary process. As the nucleus of the Nicaraguan society's political system, the work of the FSLN required strengthening the Sandinista positions and reinforcing the Front's leading role in the area of state and political relations in the process of creating mass revolutionary organizations on which the Sandinistas could rely in the performance of their work.

The Sandinistas set for themselves the task of establishing precisely defined and correct relations between the Front and state agencies, believing that the "FSLN does not take the place of the state, that its objective is to assure the functioning of the state as the administrative and executive body, and to give it a political orientation."¹⁷

The political activities of the Sandinistas embraced all aspects of state life. The Directing Council of the Government, the Government Council, the State Commission of the FSLN, primary Sandinista committees, the State Council and certain other bodies were created during the first 2 years, which assured the Sandinistas a leading position in the society and the state.

From the very beginning of its functioning the Directing Council was the chief legislative body in Nicaragua. By July 1981 the Sandinista Front was represented in it by one member of the National Directorate of the FSLN, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, and by FSLN member Sergio Ramirez Mercado. In directing the work of that agency, the FSLN exercised its influence primarily through D. Ortega, coordinator of the Directing Council.

The Government Council was formed for the purposes of providing the centralized system of control over the expanded state management structure, including various state institutions, ministries and so forth. Directors of the main centers of the economy, including ministers-and-members of the National Directorate of the FSLN, were members of the Government Council.

The State Commission on the FSLN was formed in September of 1980 to strengthen control in the state system. Front leaders stated that "it does not dominate the ministers and does not displace them, but endeavors to support the revolutionary work in the ministries and departments through the primary Sandinista committees."¹⁸ Defining the most important tasks of the Sandinista committees, the National Directorate of the FSLN in turn underscored the fact that the committee "are to see to it that all the workers and the ministries receive revolutionary political indoctrination."¹⁹

Along with the primary Sandinista committees, which perform the functions of the Front's primary party organizations, the FSLN also used the State Council, as the nation's most representative legislative body, for that purpose. The State Council actively contributed to the implementation of national reconstruction plans and involved the masses "in the new type of political work to make it possible for them to protect their interests and take part in the political administration of the state."²⁰

Joint work by state and mass organizations under the leadership of the Sandinistas was therefore a characteristic feature of national life.

Another distinguishing feature in the work of the Sandinistas involved the discussion of their plans with various groups of the population prior to effecting highly important measures in the nation. "Face the People" meetings, in which members of the Directing Council discussed current and long-range tasks of the revolution together with various groups of the workers, were one method of seeking solutions to the problems facing the revolutionaries. Letters from readers, their criticism and suggestions were printed in BARRICADA, official press organ of the FSLN, under the rubric: "The People's Mailbox." These and other measures carried out by the Sandinistas helped to stimulate participation by the masses in the revolutionary process and to implement a common and specific policy with a good knowledge of the situation and with broad reliance on the workers.

Another extremely important element in the work of the Sandinista Front, as the nucleus of the society's political system, was its relations with Nicaragua's political organizations.

The founding of the Patriotic Revolutionary Front in July of 1980, which united the leftist revolutionary parties--Nicaraguan Socialist Party, the Independent Liberal Party and the Popular Social Christian Party--was an important accomplishment for the Sandinistas.²¹ The Patriotic Front formed the initiative of the FSLN, became a coalition of revolutionary political alliances with influence among blue-collar workers, the anti-bourgeois, the intelligentsia and white collar workers. However, the fact that the Nicaraguan Socialist Party had frequently held dogmatic positions, while the two others were petit bourgeois parties and vacillated on certain revolutionary measures, had a negative effect upon the work of the Patriotic Front and weakened the revolutionary forces as a whole. The work performed by the Front during the first 2 years was recognized as inadequately effective by all its members.²² Nonetheless, in July of 1981 both the Sandinistas and the leaders of the other leftist parties underscored the fact that "the Patriotic Revolutionary Front is an example of the unity essential to Nicaragua."²³ Despite its shortcomings, the Patriotic Front could become the basic system for strengthening social groups. Activities of the Patriotic Front such as supporting the FSLN programs of economic reform, mobilizing the masses and agitating for them to join the Sandinista People's Militia, implementing specific measures to unite the working class, participating in the forum on national problems, and so forth, increased the influence of the revolutionary forces, particularly that of the Sandinistas, in the masses and by July of 1981 had established a trend toward a stepped-up activity by the Patriotic Revolutionary Front.²⁴

Proceeding from Lenin's tenet that "you cannot win with the vanguard alone," the Sandinistas endeavored to create mass revolutionary organizations and to reinforce existing Sandinista associations of various groups of the population.²⁵ The Sandinistas defined the main task of the mass organizations as that of "strengthening the political plan for the revolution" and its democratic stage.²⁶ The Front leaders assigned the mass organizations the following tasks in addition to that: "...To bring all social strata into the organizations; to express the political, economic and social demands of the masses; to help achieve the tasks outlined for the economy; to take part in the reforming of the state; to reinforce the work of establishing a militia;

to take an active part in the campaign to wipe out illiteracy; and to work among the members of the organizations to enhance their political awareness."²⁷

The revolutionary authorities established the right of the working masses to organize. In 1981, 85 percent of the workers belonged to trade unions, 80 percent of which were members of the Sandinista Central Organization of Workers.²⁸

The Sandinistas devoted a great deal of attention to organizing a single central trade union of blue-collar workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and white-collar workers. The establishment of the National Coordinating Trade Union Center in November of 1980 was the most important achievement in this area. It included all of the main, mass Sandinista organizations and became the organizational foundation for an alliance of the broad popular masses.

All of the Sandinista trade unions were represented in the State Council. Their performance in the council is a further demonstration of the correctness and the importance of Lenin's tenet: "Do not fear the initiative or the independence of the masses. Trust the revolutionary organizations of the masses, and you will see in all areas of state life...the strength, grandeur and invincibility of the workers and peasants...."²⁹

Despite the fact that the process of involving the workers in the mass organizations developed rapidly, it was not singularly successful.

Noting the difficulty of organizing the masses, the Sandinistas identified three main elements: "...The limited possibilities of the mass organizations due to the brevity of their development, the limited possibilities of the revolutionary state, and the difficult international situation."³⁰

In order to overcome these difficulties the Sandinistas are constantly working with the masses, carefully studying their problems advancing activists devoted to the revolution.

The experience in performing economic, political and social tasks over a period of 2 years has shown that it would have been impossible to develop and protect the revolution without increasing support of it by the masses. And so, the influence of the revolution is expanding. The ever-increasing role of the mass revolutionary alliances has demonstrated this. The results of the work performed by the Sandinistas and leftist parties allied with them to organize and consolidate the masses on the side of the revolution permit us to conclude that they succeeded in organizing the popular masses within a historically brief period of time.

Neither in the struggle against the military-political tyranny of the Somoza family nor following the establishment of revolutionary-democratic power on 19 July 1979, has the Sandinista movement ever attempted to "export the revolution" to neighboring nations as the present Washington politicians unceasingly assert. National with respect to its tasks and its historical heritage, and popular because of the social forces making it up, it has always

personified the most profound and progressive aspirations of the Nicaraguan people. Founded by such revolutionaries-and-nationalists as Carlos Fonseca and his fellow-fighters and born under the influence of the achievements of the world revolutionary process, it has also always had a profound class meaning. In this respect the Sandinista movement has developed and continued to develop as a part of the world revolutionary process, particularly the revolutionary events occurring in Latin America. This is confirmed not only by all the domestic democratic reforms carried out by the new authorities during the 4 years of the revolution. The foreign policy course of the Nicaraguan Government is also important proof of this. Nicaragua's active stance in the UN in defense of states struggling against imperialism, racism and reaction, in defense of the Arab people of Palestine, on the matter of settling the conflict in Central America, which arose as a result of the Reagan Administration's hardened aggressive policy, and other aspects of Nicaragua's actions in the world arena are clear proof of the fact that the Nicaraguan people are advancing along the path of progress and democracy not only for the sake of their own interests, but for the good of the world's other peoples as well. Fidel Castro's statement that the Nicaraguan revolution has managed to unite around it a great liberating, democratic, anti-imperialist alliance of revolutionary forces has therefore become even more valid today.³¹

This quality of the revolution has continued to develop since the overthrow of the dictatorship. Many nations are increasing their cooperation with and assistance to the young republic. The socialist states, particularly the USSR, have an important place in this process. When the Nicaraguans gained their historic victory the Soviet Government immediately sent a telegram to the patriotic and democratic forces of the nation, wishing them success in the building of a new Nicaragua. From the first days of creative revolutionary work by the Nicaraguan brothers, friends from the socialist nations have proceeded hand in hand with them. Aid is being provided by the socialist nations in the fields of power engineering, mining, the textile industry, the fishing industry, geology, public health, culture, and the training of national cadres. In many cases metal blanks from the USSR, synthetic materials from the GDR and components for the production of soft drinks from Czechoslovakia are being successfully used in place of those previously received from the capitalist nations.

"This year," Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Junta of Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction, has said, "we shall be commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the death of Hero Sandino. His ideas served as the basis for establishing fraternal friendship between the people of Nicaragua and the Soviet people. These fraternal relations are manifested at all levels, in relations between the parties and in state relations."³²

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 6, p 135.
2. C. Fonseca, "Bajo la Bandera del Sandinismo", Managua, 1981, p 126.

3. "El Programa Historico del FSLN", Managua, 1981, p 12.
4. See: C. Fonseca, "Bajo la Bander...", op. cit., p 309.
5. See: "Nicaragua" la estastegia de la Victoria", Mexico, 1980, pp 115-116.
6. C. Fonseca, "Bajo la Bandera...", op. cit., p 199.
7. Name given in honor of the Sandinista J.J. Quesada, killed in 1973.
8. Lenin, op. cit., vol 26, p 218.
9. Eduardo Contreras Escobar, "Datos Biograficas", Managua, 1980, p 5.
10. C. Fonseca, op. cit., pp 348-349.
11. LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 2, 1980, p 25.
12. AVANCES PARTIDARIOS, No 4, 1981, p 3.
13. T. Borge, "El Partido Sandinista y las cualidades del Militante", 1980, pp 8-9.
14. Information on changes made in the organizational structure was taken from the FSLN journal PATRIA LIBRE, No 7, 1980, pp 52-55.
15. See: "Primera Unidad de Estudio para los CDS", Managua, 1980, p 21.
16. "Habla la Direccion de la Vanguardia", Managua, 1981, p 176.
17. Ibid., p 55.
18. Ibid., p 55.
19. Ibid., pp 55-56.
20. LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 10, 1980, pp 93-94.
21. PRAVDA, 25 July 1980.
22. LA PRENSA, 19 January 1981.
23. "Habla la Direccion...", op. cit., p 22.
24. BARRICADA, 26 August 1980; 17 January 1981; BARRICADA Seg. ed., 18 August 1981.
25. Lenin, op. cit., vol 41, p 77.
26. See: C. Nunez [Tellez], "Papel de las Organizaciones de Masas en el Proceso Revolucionario", Managua, 1980, p 20.

27. Ibid., p 12.
28. LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 7, 1981, p 30.
29. Lenin, op. cit., vol 34, p 204.
30. C. Numex [Tellez], "Papel de las Organizaciones...", op. cit., p 19.
31. GRANMA, 28 July 1979.
32. PRAVDA, 22 January 1984.

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CSO: 1807/260

BAYARDO ARCE SCORED IN VENEZUELA FOR CONFLICTING STATEMENTS

Caracas EL DIARIO DE CARACAS in Spanish 4 Oct 84 p 13

[Report on speech by Sandinist ideologist Bayardo Arce to the Political Committee of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party in June 1984]

[Text In the opinion of the Sandinist Front's ideologist, the time has come "to think of doing away with all these tricks of pluralism that have been useful to us until now," and he says that "we have not yet stirred up the mobs, as they say, because the time has not yet come."

Bayardo Arce, the man regarded as chief ideologist of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN), was in Caracas last weekend to convince the Venezuelan Government and the nation's chief political parties of his government's "good intentions" in initiating a democratic process and of "the credibility and honesty" of the upcoming elections.

But yesterday--Tuesday--the Civic Association for Freedom and Democracy, which says in its statement of principles that it has the "common interest" of "countering present-day disinformation, forming public opinion, and developing people's awareness of basic human rights, freedom, and democracy," sent us a transcription of the speech that Commander Bayardo Arce delivered to the Political Committee of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party at the end of June this year--a speech which makes it appear that the intentions of the Sandinists are not the same as those being expressed officially and publicly.

"Elections a Nuisance"

It is explained in the document that "this is the transcription of a secret recording," a copy of which is in the possession of Venezuela's Association for Freedom and Democracy, and that it "is a strict and complete transcription of the recording."

On the occasion of his speech, Bayardo Arce reported to the Political Committee of Nicaraguan Socialists "concerning the viewpoint we Communists should put across as regards the election process" and "concerning a number of more profound strategic ideas that we have begun to discuss within the national leadership of the Sandinist Front." Bayardo Arce explained that from the standpoint of "the

executive action... that constitutes the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat ... the elections are a nuisance to us, but that "certain commitments were proposed to us" as a response to "a number of governments of a different kind." "One of them was that we said we were going to elect a constituent assembly--that we were going to adapt our political dynamic to an election process--and while we might view those commitments as negative if we analyzed our revolution in black and white, we nevertheless regard them as positive elements at this juncture."

"Strategic Things"

In the view of Sandinism's "ideologist," therefore, "it is appropriate" for now "to be able to hold the elections and remove one of the factors used to justify the U.S. policy of aggression against Nicaragua." He asserted, however, that in the case of requests that Nicaragua give up internationalism and its strategic ties with the USSR and that the Nicaraguan system be democratized, "we cannot stop being internationalists without also no longer being revolutionaries."

"We cannot give up our strategic relations without also no longer being revolutionaries. That does not enter into any of our considerations." In Bayardo Arce's view, "democracy, as they call it,... contains an element that we can manipulate, and that is that we can also draw positive elements from it for the building of socialism in Nicaragua... because we are using an instrument demanded by the bourgeoisie to make progress in strategic things for ourselves."

"Who We Are"

Concerning charges that the Sandinist government is totalitarian, Marxist-Leninist, pro-Soviet, and pro-Cuban, he said that "we believe it is necessary to use the elections to ensure that people vote for Sandinism--since that is what is being challenged and stigmatized by imperialism--so we can show imperialism that in any case, the Nicaraguan people are for the Soviet-Cuban advance, that the Nicaraguan people are for that totalitarianism, and that the Nicaraguan people are for Marxism-Leninism." He then pointed out that "we have not declared publicly and officially that we are Marxist-Leninists. We conduct our affairs without defining ourselves. But the United States has done us the favor of saying who we are. So we say that the ballot paper must be headed by a flag--the red and black flag--and its meaning is that we are going to vote for Sandinism."

"We Will Get Married Right Now"

Concerning the visible duality involving the Sandinist Front on one side and the Socialists, Bayardo Arce asserted that immediately after the elections and with a new constitution, "the political-legal foundations will be laid for advancing in the building of socialism." He then said: "We will be given a new instrument, since we will then be legal. The same thing will happen to us that happens to a couple that has been living together for 10 years.... We are going to get legally married right now so that we will get a little more recognition. In that context, we say: but do we have strategic differences with the Socialist Party, or does the Socialist Party have strategic differences with us? Hasn't

the time come to further strengthen the party of the revolution and form the single party? There is no need for us Communists to be wearing different shirts. We are going to drop the fiction that there is a Socialist-Marxist-Leninist party, and on the other hand, we in the Sandinist Front who are not taking off our shirts yet are going to use the results of these elections to legitimize the revolution."

"Let the People Vote"

In Bayardo Arce's opinion, it is necessary to prevent "confusion" so that "the people will vote... for those confiscations, for that nationalization of the banks and foreign trade,... so that they will vote for the Soviet and Cuban military advisers, so that they will vote for the revolution's internationalism with respect to El Salvador--so that they will vote for all that. That is the reality of our revolution, and all that we have done has that dynamic... then to be able to have the constitution legitimized by this exercise of the vote, which will enable us to say: this is our law.... [in ruling] by decree, we are more susceptible to pressures, but once we have a legal framework, no one is going to tell a country to change its constitution.... The war is not going to end on 4 November or 10 January (election dates). That war is going to continue with or without Reagan.... There is no need to waste one activist from the front and another from the Socialist Party on the same undertaking."

End of Pluralism

Lastly, Bayardo Arce said in his speech to the Political Committee of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party scarcely 3 months ago that the time had come "to think of doing away with all those tricks of pluralism--saying that there is indeed a Socialist and Communist Party, a Social Christian Party, a Social Democratic Party, and so on--which have been useful to us until now. Pluralism has reached its end. We are going to work to strengthen the revolutionary leadership."

He added: "Our strategic allies tell us that we should not declare ourselves Marxist-Leninists: that we should not declare socialism. Here and in Rome we know, and we have said, that perhaps this will be the first experiment in building socialism with capitalism's dollars."

Bayardo Arce concluded by saying: "We have not stirred up the mobs, as they say, because the time has not yet come.... We must take advantage of this change represented by the elections to draw other positive advantages from it, such as the unity of the Marxist-Leninists of Nicaragua."

11798

CSO: 3248/42

COMMUNISTS SCORE STROESSNER REGIME

PY232110 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 20 Oct 84

[By Ananias Maidana]

[Text] ADELANTE, the organ of the Paraguayan Communist Party Central Committee that circulates underground in Paraguay, says in an editorial in its September issue that there is an urgent need to carry out profound economic and political changes in the country in order to get rid of foreign domination, especially U.S. domination, and the large land owners. These are the two main causes of backwardness and the dramatic situation affecting the Paraguayan workers and the people in general.

The editorial says that, as pointed out by our party's political doctrine, the worsening of the nation's economic and political process is leading to a crisis worse than previous ones. In view of this situation, there is a need to create a broad antidictatorial national front without exclusions to overthrow the dictatorship and to replace it with a democratic government.

The editorial goes on to say that the fascist regime headed by General Alfredo Stroessner, with the help of the progovernment Colorado Party and the U.S. Administration, is trying to maintain the dictatorship at the service of the aggressive U.S. imperialist policies and the small privileged oligarchy.

ADELANTE emphasizes that the U.S. Embassy, considering the possibility that the dictator may be replaced, is also flirting with some leaders of the opposition political parties by giving them the illusion that they may at any time get to run the government. This is how the U.S. Government strengthens the old regime on one side while on the other it tries to set up a new team of unconditional supporters in case the Stroessner regime fails.

The editorial points out that the old political and economic structure is creating more hunger and misery and getting a group of exploiters, smugglers, and drug traffickers richer. This is the reason radical changes are needed. The masses have already begun the path toward mobilization and unity. This was seen during the latest popular demonstrations held on 17 February, 12 June, 14 August, and 28 September, when thousands of demonstrators demanded that the Stroessner dictatorship leave, shouting the slogan: Bread, Work, Freedom, and the Return of the People in Exile.

The editorial says that this is why the most important task of all Paraguayan patriots, both civilian and military, is the overthrow of the dictatorship. The objective conditions for change have matured for a long time and the subjective conditions are maturing.

The editorial then asks: What is then needed to carry out the profound changes? The answer is that all antidictatorial currents without distinctions must unite based on democratic ideals. Let us create a real broad front without exclusions, but beyond some leaders who want to reach an agreement with the dictatorship and U.S. imperialism. Let us organize joint commissions everywhere. Let us carry out new massive combative actions putting aside such traitors of the labor movement as Sotero Ledesma, his friends, and the leaders who make shady deals to stop the mass struggle. Let us isolate those who support anticommunism in order to divide the opposition in favor of the dictatorship.

In conclusion, the editorial says that we must seek the support of the patriots in the armed forces in order to create the conditions to put an end to the fascist tyranny, to recover freedom, and to open the path for anti-imperialist agrarian reform.

CSO: 3348/92

VISITING FRG LAWMAKERS REFUSE TO ATTEND RECEPTION

PY170145 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 16 Oct 84 p 14

[All German names as published]

[Text] An unusual reaction was elicited by an article on former FRG Chancellor Willy Brandt in the newspaper PATRIA. The FRG politicians who are currently visiting Paraguay refused to attend a reception held in their honor by the President of the Senate Juan R. Chaves. In ending their tour the visiting politicians did carry out numerous activities.

The delegation of FRG Social Democratic Party lawmakers who are visiting Asuncion, last night refused to attend the fete held in their honor by Senate President Juan Ramon Chaves, claiming that they had been offended by an article published in the newspaper PATRIA on 15 October entitled "Willy Brandt's Socialist International."

Hans Ulrich Klose—the spokesman for the delegation—this morning reported that he went to the Centenario Club last night to explain to the officials who were holding the dinner that the FRG lawmakers would not attend because of a PATRIA article which they considered offensive. The article in question contained offensive remarks, such as one that Willy Brandt had been a Soviet spy during World War II.

"Only fascist and neo-Nazi newspapers take this line, as far as we know," Klose explained, "therefore we consider it unacceptable."

Additionally the FRG lawmaker said that "if this is what the official mouthpiece of the ruling party is printing then we must see it as an aggression which cannot be ignored. We must think about the consequences."

Meanwhile, sources close to the Senate indicated that when the FRG lawmakers stated that they considered themselves offended by the article, they were told that "the article should be viewed as one of many published by Paraguayan and other newspapers. After all, PATRIA merely repeated what has been published in other foreign media. Some of the data in the article had been supplied by Willy Brandt himself."

It was also reported that when the FRG lawmakers asked for a retraction they were asked in turn whether it was possible to obtain a retraction on everything that the FRG media usually publishes.

In the end, the FRG legislators left the Centenario Club without stepping into the hall where the dinner was to be served.

The FRG delegation made up of Hans Ulrich Klose, Horst Jungmann, Klaus Henning Rosen, and Wilfried Pnner, this morning met with the Human Rights Commission whose president is Mrs Carmen.Casco de Lara Castro, with members of the Authentic Radical Liberal Party and of the Febrerista Revolutionary Party. At 1345 local time [1645 GMT] the visitors held a press conference shortly before departing on their return trip. At this conference they reaffirmed their displeasure over the PATRIA article.

CSO: 3348/92

ERRATUM: This BRIEF republished from
JPRS-LAM-84-107 of 27 September 1984
to correct figures.

PERU

BRIEFS

PUBLIC INVESTMENT FIGURES ANNOUNCED-- Nearly 5 trillion sols, 8.6 percent of the gross national product in 1984, will be invested by the government and national enterprises in various projects this year. The Central Government hopes to spend 1.79 trillion sols, while national enterprises will invest 2.871 trillion sols. Another 232 billion will be used on projects of lesser importance. Of the 4.893 trillion, 3.153 trillion sols will be used during the second half of the year--that is, between July and December, according to the schedule. During the first quarter of this year, investments exceeded 666 billion sols. Given the lack of resources, the Executive Branch has decided to reduce the amount of investments by some 400 billion sols, while continuing the rate of execution. In our economic section, we are publishing the details of public investments made during the first quarter. [Text] [Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 24 Aug 84 p A-1] 11464

CSO: 3348/559

TEXT OF SIMMONDS INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS

Basseterre THE DEMOCRAT in English 22 Sep 84 pp 3, 4

[Text of radio and TV address to the nation to Prime Minister Kennedy Simmonds on the 1st Anniversary of Independence on 19 September 1984]

[Text]

One year ago today, the New Federation of St. Kitts and Nevis came into being. Taking part in a splendid and solemn ceremony truly befitting the birth of the world's Newest Independent Nation, thousands of Kittitians and Nevisians from all walks of life gathered together at Warner Park to witness the handing-over of the Constitutional Instruments and the Raising of our Flag.

It was a birth into the worldwide family of Nations, and an impressive contingent of International Delegations from all around the globe journeyed to our shores to be a part of this memorable event. Those who were unable to be there in person, were present in spirit, as were our relatives and friends scattered far and wide in many a distant land. And when our National Flag soared majestically into the pre-dawn sky, to usher in the first moments of a new era of Sovereign Independence, our twin-island Nation for an instant captured the attention of the world.

UNFORGETTABLE GRANDEUR AND STYLE

Today, on the First Anniversary of Independence, I address Kittitians and Nevisians here and everywhere as one people inextricably united by bonds of history, culture and blood. It is only natural for us on an occasion like this to recall the unforgettable grandeur and style of that ceremony, and to evoke once again the feelings of dignity and pride which accompanied the turning of that page in history. But even as we contemplate this commemoration with reverence, and with joy, we must also regard it with seriousness. Independence is more than just a celebration, more than just an event.

Independence is self-Government. It is a condition in which the ultimate aim is to stimulate the development of self-help and self-reliance, coupled with a sense of responsibility to one's country. Independence has to do with our commitment to building a Nation which can be respected throughout the world. It is a process, which is inspired, moulded and sustained by our willingness to work hard, to cooperate and live together in peace and harmony, to examine the past and chart a course for the future.

As such, the idea of Independence cannot truly be said to have begun or ended on September 19th last year.

A SOLID FOUNDATION

Our approach has been to concentrate on the laying of a solid foundation, and to fashion the conditions within which we can release the creative energies of our human resources. We have set out to do this against a background of deep-seated constraints, such as our traditional over-dependence on a one-crop economy, inadequate housing, under-employment, and an education system which was not altogether relevant to our own peculiar circumstances.

Even before Independence, we have met these problems head-on. Our method of dealing with problems has been pragmatic and tenacious, to provide relief in the short term and self-sufficiency in the long term, to diversify the economy away from a mono-culture, and make significant strides in Industry and Tourism. We have developed our infrastructure for economic development. The expansion of our Airport and Deep Water Harbour facilities, the construction of a number of new Factory Shells, the upgrading of our electricity and steady improvement of our water services, the rapid growth of tourism related facilities in general, have all been achieved at a time when the outside world has been caught in the grip of inflation and recession.

ESTABLISHING CONFIDENCE

In order to do this, we had to establish confidence in investors at home and abroad. We were not afraid to implement bold and innovative ideas in the pursuit of our objectives. The Abolition of Personal Income Tax was a major plank of this policy, and it was found to be of profound significance. As a catalyst for savings and a spur to private investment, it has revitalized and encouraged a greater contribution to the National Welfare from the private sector than ever before. And it is well-known that this enthusiasm and support of the private sector in any country is generally regarded as a barometer of the stability by which the outside investor will judge whether or not the climate is conducive to economic viability.

TEST OF LEADERSHIP

Even before Independence, we made a valiant effort in coming to grips with the problems which we knew we were going to meet after Independence. We have been able to get a head start, and to show the country the direction which we will take. One of the most significant features of this first year of Independence is that it provided the ultimate test of the leadership provided by Government, and it is clear that there is cause for immense satisfaction and encouragement.

RESOUNDING VOTE OF CONFIDENCE

The General Elections held on 21st June have resulted in a resounding vote of confidence by the Electorate. The people have demonstrated that they have understood what their Government has been doing and they have endorsed the policies and programmes and they have translated their endorsement into an outstanding mandate during this first year of Independence. The importance of this Mandate even

transcends personal satisfaction. It indicates that the cornerstone of Independence has been laid on a stable foundation, in that the country has taken this step into Nationhood with its eyes wide open, confidently facing the future as one people. We are going to continue building upon this strong foundation. We will not sit back on our laurels. However, if we are to achieve the levels of progress which we seek and which our people expect, an essential ingredient in our planning must be the continuing development of our infrastructure.

IMPORTANCE OF OUR INFRASTRUCTURE

Our vision of the future indicates that we can only develop as far as our infrastructure will take us. What may seem adequate now, in terms of resources and facilities, may well be insufficient later, as consumption levels rise, and demand increases, and the cost of maintenance is eventually overtaken by the cost of replacement, and as we embark upon new initiatives. Our road-building programme, our telecommunications system, our water conservation and research, our electricity network, our housing projects, must keep pace with the growth of industry and the growth of our population, and the rising expectations of our citizens.

PURCHASE OF THE SUGAR LANDS

I am pleased on this First Birthday of our Nation to be able to announce to you that MY GOVERNMENT IS NOW IN A POSITION TO SETTLE THE LONG OUTSTANDING MATTER OF THE PURCHASE OF THE SUGAR LANDS. We have secured a loan which will enable us to make a substantial down-payment on these lands. We expect very shortly therefore to be in a position to provide land by way of sale or lease to our people, so that you may be able to participate more meaningfully in the development of the country. Further details on this matter will be presented in due course.

We need the assistance and the support of the people of this country. In this new era of Independence, of resurgent national pride and responsibility, the mobilisation of community involvement is an essential theme of our administration.

10-MILE CHARITY WALK

It was not merely for idle exercise that a team of Ministers of Government and other officials headed the 10-mile Charity Walk from Sandy Point to Basseterre last weekend as part of our Independence Anniversary Programme.

The Walk-a-Thon was in aid of a Fund which will be used to renovate and restore the Home for the Elderly at Cardin Avenue in Basseterre. Our objective was to awaken the conscience of the Community to the needs of our Senior Citizens. And we have set the example of making an individual effort in support of one of the most worthy charity causes we could think of. Inviting public sponsorship was designed to galvanize the imagination and enlist the contribution of the community at large in boosting an awareness of what each of us can do to capture the spirit of Independence, which is, after all is said and done, that we all have a responsibility to give this country and its institutions our full support.

AN ALL-ENCOMPASSING ROLE

There is no limit to the impact which we can make as a Nation, for INDEPENDENCE HAS GIVEN US AN ALL-ENCOMPASSING ROLE IN GLOBAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. Our membership in the various international agencies and organisations has lengthened our outreach, and given us a voice in the dominant forums of the world. The fact that we are no longer looking in from the outside is yet another highlight of this first year of Independence.

THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

When the OECS-backed mission to assist Grenada in last October's crisis was decisively carried out, many Commonwealth Nations were among those who criticised and looked for ulterior motives in the initiative. But we were able to take our place alongside our Caribbean brothers at the Commonwealth Summit Conference in India one month later, and make our statement of our view of the undoubted escalation of the threat to Democracy on our very doorstep. THAT CRISIS AND OUR REFUSAL TO BACK DOWN FROM IT, TESTED OUR STERNER STUFF AND WAS A FEATURE OF THIS FIRST YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE. It demonstrated in no uncertain terms our capacity and our resolve to work together as a free people with our Caribbean brothers in the defence of our democratic freedoms and traditions.

NEW AVENUES OF ASSISTANCE

Independence has also opened new avenues of assistance from the United Nations, the OAS, and through new relationships with non-traditional more developed countries. We have benefited in the form of grants, loans, and technical assistance from these new sources. Aid however, must be seen in its true perspective. It cannot be the primary vehicle of growth, only the fuel which we ourselves must ignite and channel appropriately to achieve the desired effect. Our future depends upon us, and upon our perception of what constitutes our National interests. It is not going to depend on some foreign power, neither East nor West, but in the long run on the sovereign people of St. Kitts and Nevis, and our National integrity.

NATIONAL PRIORITY

IT IS THEREFORE A NATIONAL PRIORITY TO PREPARE OUR PEOPLE FOR THE TASK. EDUCATION IN ITS BROADER SENSE IS OUR MOST IMPORTANT TOOL AND WE MAKE USE OF IT. We must weed out all trace of the mentality of slavery and colonialism which are relics of our past history. At this singularly important Anniversary of Independence we are also celebrating the attainment of one and a half centuries of freedom from Slavery. That legacy of despair is behind us for good. On September 19th last year, we burst away the final strand of the apron string of Colonialism.

This Nation belongs to all of us, and it will prosper according to the strength of our ingenuity and of our commitment to give of ourselves. By our individual effort, by our entrepreneurship we can create our own opportunities in agriculture and agriculture-based industry, in the field of small business, in arts and crafts, in the provision of services as we move more strongly into tourism.

PEOPLE DEVELOPMENT

Our most urgent role however, lies in the area of people development. We all have a duty to maximise our personal development, and to reach out and inspire our contemporaries. No avenue to this goal is too insignificant, as long as it

harnesses our sense of civic duty, improves our work ethic, and enhances our ability to perform at a higher level of competence. Whether it be by simply keeping our homes, our gardens, our villages and our surroundings clean and presentable, or whether it be by a dedication to voluntary work in our neighbourhood or in the wide society or some other adaptation of our National Motto "COUNTRY ABOVE SELF". Let our ideal be the development of a pride-in-work ethic which we can foster and channel into productive goals.

A SPIRIT OF UNITY

Above all, let us put away divisiveness and cultivate a spirit of unity.

Fellow Citizens of St. Kitts and Nevis we have placed our faith in our people, in your personal motivation, in your loyalty, and in your sense of patriotic purpose.

As we stand at the threshold of a New Year as a Sovereign Nation, let us consciously resolve to work together for the benefit of our country and every man, woman and child in it. Let us devote our combined energies to the task of Nation Building.

HAPPY INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY! GOD BLESS YOU.

CSO: 3298/084

FUTURE INVESTIGATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS CRIMES SOUGHT

Montevideo BUSQUEDA in Spanish 24 Oct 84 p 11

[Text] The Peace and Justice Service (SERPAJ) has reiterated its demand for a general, unrestricted amnesty and called for a series of measures for investigating and judging the crimes involving "human injury," caused by "state terrorism," during the next constitutional government.

SERPAG requested that the Congress to be installed this coming 15 February set up "a commission to investigate the truth," and gather the background information to be submitted to the common courts for judgment.

It also called for "the purging of the elements most implicated in terrorism, particularly the higher commands, the repeal of the oppressive legislation and organic laws of the Armed Forces, the elimination of the present intelligence agencies, a reduction in defense spending, and a reduction and retraining of military personnel; measures which, according to SERPAJ, should lead to the "dismantlement of the present military authorities."

"In the past, amnesty was a virtually taboo topic, a half-concealed demand made exclusively by the relatives of the political prisoners. Now it is a popular demand, accepted by the Uruguayan society as a whole. It has ceased to be a utopia out of the reach of everyone."

"The history of this progress can be explained only by the unyielding struggle of the popular movement," states the document; adding: "The combined sectors participating in national affairs have realized the impossibility of constructing a nation in peace without healing the wounds caused by our internal confrontation."

It then maintains that its proposal for amnesty in June 1983 "stemmed from the conviction that Uruguay has suffered from an internal war, and its aftermath must be resolved by projecting toward a genuine national reconciliation," and that this "confrontation has sunk its roots into the deepseated crisis that Uruguay has been undergoing for nearly 3 decades."

It adds: "Since then, the country has embarked upon a historical era wherein the capitalist structure has ceased to reproduce the wealth, and the latter's increasingly unequal distribution has started to leave the minimal needs of broad national sectors unfulfilled."

According to SERPAJ, "The economic deterioration was the first violence that silently took victims from among the poorest citizens. As a result, we reject viewing armed violence as if it were a result of an attack against the nation promoted from abroad. We think that it was part of the response from some national sectors to the system's injustice and inflexibility."

It adds: "The Armed Forces, winners in this contest, not only oppressed armed subversion but also swept away all the opposition to the regime, even the most peaceful, for the sake of entrenching their social plan based on the doctrine of national security and economic neoliberalism."

It then goes on to say: "The people's struggle has already brought results with the military authorities granting a considerable number of freedoms in advance. We think that it will be the future constitutional government that will order the release of all political prisoners, the return of all exiles and the cessation of all persecution. The recent deaths in the military jails prove that this matter cannot be postponed in any way, so long as there are lives at stake."

The SERPAJ document then states: "If we admit that our country has undergone an internal war, we shall have to admit that, unfortunately, in any armed conflict it is normal for the belligerents to cause deaths on the opposing side. Consequently, we think that, if they occur in confrontations between contending sides, there should be amnesty for these incidents. The rich national tradition that exists in the country supports this proposal; the conquered revolutionaries were pardoned without distinction."

It subsequently claims not to accept "the path of violence as a means for building a just society," but notes: "We realize that one cannot put on the same level the violence committed by the social structures killing thousands with hunger every day, the violence of the ruling classes precisely in the defense of this kind of situation, and the violence of those who want to change it." Nor would it "confuse terrorist violence, which we condemn without ambiguity, with the legitimate right of peoples to rise up against a tyrannical authority which has cut them off from all peaceful channels for establishing justice."

The document continues: "In that context, we agree with the condemnation of those acts of violence such as the ones committed against non-belligerents, or the acts of cruelty inflicted on the defenseless; those practices described as 'war crimes' and condemned by the Geneva Conventions of 1949 do not have any justification, whatever the circumstance or whoever the perpetrator may be."

"Now then, facing the reality of the ones tried or enjoined for such acts, we find that the respective confessions have been extracted through the use of torture. It is impossible to accept their veracity; accepting it would mean accepting the criterion of truth of those whom we know have systematically committed assaults upon the lives of thousands of Uruguayans. Hence, it is impossible to make distinctions taking the verdicts of the military courts as a basis."

"General amnesty is the only useful means of achieving the country's pacification. Through it, the person released ceases to be a former criminal, castigated and discriminated against by the society, becoming a person who reacted against injustice. Through this means alone, the thousands of those tried and enjoined by the military courts would have their civic rights fully restored and could become constructively reintegrated into the society."

"When the political cause of those who rose up in arms is acknowledged and the crime is annulled, their human potential will be retrieved for the reconstruction of the country. In this regard, we believe that general amnesty will abound in the internal and external consensus of the future government."

State Terrorism

SERPAJ cautions: "The amnesty law must exclude from its reach crimes of human injury. We know that all the political prisoners held by the Armed Forces have been systematically tortured; even those confined in the military jails have been subjected to a system that could be described as torture. The Uruguayan military, with the aid of their counterparts in the neighboring countries, have kidnapped and assassinated. The large number of victims of the repression indicates the widespread occurrence of crimes involving human injury in our country."

It expresses the view that: "It is our obligation to fight against the repetition of these crimes, with the same force, and appealing to the same sensitivity and sense of justice among the Uruguayan society, that has been used on behalf of amnesty."

In explaining the legal and ethical grounds, SERPAJ claims, "there is a precise international legislation approved at the time by Uruguay," which "obliges our society to act accordingly."

"This endeavor has ethical imperatives as well. No society can ignore the legitimate claims for justice from its members; doing so leads to a break in the solidarity that prevails in any community, and paves the way for uneasiness and revenge. We have said that the inherent quality of an internal war is that, when it ends, the conquered and the conquerors remain in coexistence. Not only is it unjust, but it is humanly impossible for a democratic society to shelter the tortured and the torturer, when the latter remains unpunished for his crimes."

It later declares: "We feel dutybound to clear up the argument that there are feelings of revenge concealed behind demands of this type. We consider this to be superficial reasoning; what is being demanded here is the action of the justice system with the proper guarantees which were lacking for the prisoners and the missing persons. Moreover, indignation and anger toward the unjust enemy are legitimate sentiments among the oppressed. We cannot rob the poor of even their consciousness of being attacked, their right to 'cry out to heaven,' their sacred wrath. But what we propose is not private hatred; it is that the society assume the moral commitment to do justice."

"What we are calling for is not an insane utopia, that would be morally legitimate but actually impossible to achieve. We want to dispel the arguments of the pragmatic 'understanding ones' who in this regard repeat, 'politics is the art of the possible,' to avoid becoming bound to anything transcending their intentions."

And it adds: "Just as there cannot be democratization in the country with political prisoners, there cannot be any with the perpetrators of crimes involving human injury going unpunished either."

"We think that the democratic transition is marked by the combined acts whereby the civilian government and the organized people will undertake the elimination of all institutional and ideological vestiges of the present dictatorship. It must be understood that what we are requesting is not just the punishment of a few men who violated social standards, but also the judgment of the administration of the Armed Forces as an institution during this period, and of the doctrine of national security which they upheld."

It then remarks: "This regime has not been a government of a few military personages, but rather the government of the Armed Forces; and not as a result of a possible preeminence, but rather legally set up according to standards inspired by national security."

"Therefore we find ourselves faced with a military authority that must render an accounting not only for the conduct of its members, but also for the logic of its operation and existence. And there will be no democratization in the country if the machinery of the military authorities is not dismantled; we are not referring to the Armed Forces per se, but rather to how they have been set up during this period, because democracy and national security are at odds with one another."

"We want an amnesty to be granted, but we want its effects to be lasting; not to have the torturers give the historical bad example of a possible repetition of their actions because they have not been punished. Nor do we want temptations to administer justice on our own authority. We don't want those amnestied now to be the missing persons of the future, as has occurred in other fraternal countries. In short, we don't want a truce; we want peace."

After citing its demand for truth and justice regarding the crimes involving human injury, the SERPAJ document states: "This is not a private matter among the victims."

"It is the problem of an entire people; it is the wound inflicted on the entire society, because this bloody implementation of national security is an indivisible counterpart of the economic management undertaken in recent years; furthermore, it was used for the implementation of the former. Hence, the oppression is not confined to the guerrilla fighters, making trade union and student leaders its favorite prey. Hence the torture was not confined to seeking information, and has apparently continued without reason. Torture and disappearance were punishment not only for the tortured and the missing, but also for the society as a whole, whom it was attempted to paralyze by terror, in order to establish this model of an unjust country."

Proposal

Based on the grounds previously cited, SERPAJ proposed that the following be required of the future constitutional government, requesting the support of "well-intentioned individuals and institutions":

"1. The future government must offer authentic guarantees that will encourage the victims to be willing to convey the available information. In Uruguay, unlike other countries, few complaints have been made during the military period; the fear and dangers are still great.

"In this connection, the opinion has been expressed that no one would prevent an affected person from submitting his complaint, if he so desires; but that the government should not foster revisionism. We think that if a government does not take the initiative to investigate these incidents, and does not give guarantees to the citizens who want to report them, it is because it does not want the matter to be cleared up. We are talking about the responsibility of an institution; the isolated citizen lacks the strength to demand an accounting of the Armed Forces.

"We think that the investigation should be the responsibility of the Congress. That is the greatest guarantee, because it is the authority in which the direct representatives of all the areas of the people's sovereignty are located. It is incumbent on the Congress to undertake that investigation, because the entire society has been affected. We think that the Argentine experience serves as an example of the fact that another type of investigative agency lacks the strength to confront the military institution and demand information from it. We request that a congressional commission be set up to investigate the truth, as stipulated in Article 120 of the Constitution of the Republic. This in no way affects the necessary division of powers, because we are not asking the legislative branch to judge, but rather to collect the background information to be submitted to the judicial branch.

"2. It will be the intervention of the common courts, endowed with the most suitable institutional methods, that will eventually have jurisdiction in these crimes involving human injury. There is a certain amount of experience in our country with this, which should be taken into consideration, for example: the measures adopted during World War II against totalitarian doctrines.

"3. These measures that will lead to the purging of the elements most implicated in the terrorism, particularly the higher commands, must be supplemented with others that will entail the dismantling of the present military authorities. They are:

"a. the repeal of the oppressive legislation (state of insurrection);

"b. the repeal of the present organic laws of the Armed Forces;

"c. the elimination of the current intelligence agencies;

"d. the reduction of defense spending;

"f. the reduction of military personnel;

"g. the retraining of military personnel.

"We are not unaware of the difficulty in materializing these measures. We cite two factors in this regard:

"1. Their feasibility is downgraded in proportion to the length of time taken to implement them; because the political consensus and the backing for a government erode gradually. Therefore, the optimal time for carrying them out will be the start of the democratic government, when the latter has the greatest internal support and the solidarity of the international community.

"2. Under no circumstances will these measures be easy to apply without a considerable popular mobilization demanding that the government put them into effect."

2909

CS0: 3348/76

BLANCO LEADER SAYS BROAD FRONT PROPOSED ELECTIONS IN 2 YEARS

Montevideo EL PAIS in Spanish 19 Oct 84 p 7

[Text] At the last meeting, the National Party leader, Dr Alembert Vaz, confirmed the fact that the proposal to set up a provisional government for 2 years was made to the National Party by the political secretary of Gen Liber Seregni, head of the Broad Front. Vaz pointed out that the proposal had been rejected, because it was felt that a 2-year transitional government would be too long.

Commenting on the fact, Mr Vaz told the press: "Rather than an explanation, it is a confirmation. The situation is not explained: either there is confirmation or there is discreditation. This is merely confirmation of what Dr Zumaran stated in the controversy that took place on a television program with General Seregni. On that occasion, Dr Zumaran said that Seregni, through his political secretary, Mr Oscar Botinelli, had offered Wilson Ferreira a temporary regime for a period of 2 years, so that the public might have a complete notion of how matters were occurring."

Alembert Vaz remarked: "I was visited first by Seregni's political secretary, Oscar Botinelli, who is, moreover, a friend of mine, with whom I have had a long-standing friendship, to propose to me the possibility of finding out whether the National Party might perhaps rejoin the Multiparty group."

"In what capacity did Mr Botinelli visit you?"

"He visited me in the capacity of General Seregni's political secretary. We must be specific (he said). The first meeting was held with me, and Dr Guillermo Garcia Costa and he were at the second one. In order to clearly specify our representative status on that occasion, he asked Botinelli, concretely, whether he was representing General Seregni, to which he replied affirmatively, confirming that he was acting as his political secretary."

Specifically, the proposal consisted of an attempt, through Mr Botinelli, to have the National Party rejoin the Multiparty group from which it had become dissociated."

Alembert Vaz went on to say: "At that time, the condition offered was the establishment of a transitional regime for a period of 2 years."

He continued: "To that, the National Party, through me and Garcia Costa, replied that the condition would not work, first because the transitional period was considered too long, and second because we wanted confirmation of the holding of elections in 1984, accompanied by the lifting of the outlawing of Wilson Ferreira Aldunate."

The Blanco leader subsequently commented: "Those conditions were the ones discussed on that occasion. But I would say that the basic difference lay in the length of the period; because Mr Botinelli proposed 2 years, claiming that a shorter period of time might prove unfeasible, inasmuch as he thought that the first year would be for an institutional reorganization. That is why he was calling for another year, so as to establish the foundations of the government that would be elected in November."

Dr Alembert Vaz later noted that, under these circumstances "the proposal was not accepted."

Botinelli's Comment

Oscar Botinelli, General Seregni's political secretary, for his part, commented on a television channel that, "The contacts between politicians are always customary, and thanks to this there has been an opportunity for agreement and understanding among the parties or, at times, learning what the differences are."

"In this specific instance, I held eight meetings with Dr Vaz and Dr Garcia Costa, which took place at Dr Vaz' home and in Dr Garcia Costa's law office, with an informal meeting at a reception at the Spanish Embassy. The reason for the meetings was essentially to seek means that would afford the National Party a dignified return to the Multiparty group from which it had withdrawn, thus recomposing the opposition front which had been weakened by that incident."

"Was the provisional issue brought up?"

"Many issues were discussed, because those talks were concurrent with the pre-negotiations between political parties and the Armed Forces, and the negotiations at the Naval Club. We discussed everything that was being talked about with the Armed Forces, seeking means for a solution and bringing up all the possibilities that might exist for finding a solution for the country to move from the dictatorship to democracy, and how to undertake the transition."

2909

CSO: 3348/76

BRIEFS

MILITARY RETIREMENT BILL--The organic Army bill which the Council of State will have to begin studying within the next few days calls for an advancement in the age limit for retirement of senior officers in the auxiliary services with the rank of colonel from 52 to 60 years, as BUSQUEDA was told by reliable sources. The auxiliary services do not include combat personnel in the branch of service. It was claimed that the bill does not call for an age limit for the retirement of general officers. The latter will reach the end of their active life in the institution upon completing 8 years of seniority in grade. Up until now, they went into retirement upon reaching age 60, with 8 years in grade. The bill also includes the operation of military agricultural and livestock settlements under the jurisdiction of each one of the Army's divisions; but the sources said that this was not an innovation, noting that these settlements are camps which come under the jurisdiction of the branch's remount [horse supply] service. The informants also remarked that, although studies are being made in the institution to set up a bill aimed at achieving a "regulation of cadres," at present there is no decision on the matter. [Text] [Montevideo BUSQUEDA in Spanish 17 Oct 84 p 1] 2909

CSO: 3348/76

WILLY BRANDT NEWS CONFERENCE DESCRIBED

PA190017 Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 10 Oct 84 p D-13

[Report by Nestor Moro on a news conference granted by Socialist International President Willy Brandt in Caracas on 9 October]

[Text] At noon yesterday, Willy Brandt, president of the Socialist International, held a news conference. He was accompanied by former Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez, who is secretary of the Socialist International, and by representatives of the ILDIS [Latin American Social Research Institute].

In his opening statement, he said: The Central American issue was a main topic in these conversations and it could not be otherwise.

The month of October, he added, is very critical. The question on how to maintain the Contadora process is important for Venezuela since this country plays an outstanding role in that group.

Another topic was that of cooperation between Europe and Latin America.

I was pleased by the fact that considerable attention was paid here to the EEC foreign ministers meeting in San Jose this past weekend, he said.

A third topic was the debt.

He stated: It is becoming clear to me that the arms race, on the one hand, and the development problems of the Third World on the other, are two sides of the same coin.

He added: We are on the side of those who place pressure on the superpowers to put an end to the arms race and return to the negotiations table.

He explained that one of the main reasons for adopting this position is the fact that arms expenditures are an important factor in the international economic crisis. This year, for example, \$1 trillion will be spent on arms and this is an exorbitant amount.

For this reason, he cautioned, this is not a matter of just exerting pressure for a moratorium in the superpowers arms race. Awareness must also be created so that money is used for development.

Brandt said he will visit 11 countries during his 21-day tour of the continent and that although he will not spend much time in each of the countries, he will have an opportunity to learn.

Willy Brandt recalled his meeting with Carlos Andres Perez in Rio de Janeiro a week ago when both were attending the Socialist International meeting there and said that both established many contacts. Brandt noted that Perez made a giant effort to save the Nicaraguan elections process while in Rio.

Brandt said: Carlos Andres Perez was able to negotiate an agreement with both sides, the Sandinist government and the Democratic Coordinating Board. Unfortunately, however, the agreement was not signed due to some formalities.

Regarding aspects related to his tour, Brandt said he made a stopover in Santiago, Chile, to hold a meeting with leaders of the Democratic Alliance and that he was able to talk with them. However, he noted: I am sorry to say that my interlocutors at the Santiago airport, including my old friend Gabriel Valdez, were arrested after the meeting.

Brandt also charged that eight leaders of the alliance have been arrested because of their participation in a demonstration in early September.

He stated: Here in Caracas I want to vehemently protest these arrests. I am doing this on behalf of the Socialist International. I am sure that the Internatikoal Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal International will also protest these arrests.

Brandt announced that in the afternoon he will go to Cartagena and then to Panama from where he will leave for San Jose, Managua, Havana, and Mexico.

He stated: We will be busy with the Central American problem in these cities because we have no intention of withdrawing now.

He recalled that this is his third visit to Caracas.

He added: When I leave Caracas this afternoon I will be thankful for a friendly welcome and good conversation, and will wish the Venezuelan people success.

In the question and answer period Mr Brandt was asked: Do you agree with those who maintain that whether a peaceful solution is achieved or attempts to attain peace in Central America fail depends largely on the United States?

He said: I tend to agree with that, mainly because the area's geographic position is a determining factor. However, the rights of Central American peoples are also important, no matter how small these countries may be. The solution to the Central American crisis implies resolving economic and social problems that are intrinsic to the crisis. Not only is the United States involved, but also the countries directly affected by the crisis, Latin America in general, and Europe, to a certain extent.

Another reporter asked Brandt if he believed that the United States and Cuba play a key role in the Central American situation. Do you believe that when you visit Havana the Cuban Government will ask you to mediate in contacts with the United States to help solve the crisis?

Brandt said: I have never met Fidel Castro. Before I reply, I must listen to his appreciations on the crisis.

Mr Brandt indicated that before embarking on his tour he had a very clear grasp of the United States' position regarding the crisis. He added that he has been learning what Latin America's position is and that he must listen to Castro's views before he can pass judgment.

Brandt said that he is not a mediator between the United States and Cuba, but added that one must keep in mind that Cuba plays a key role in the region. "We must not diminish the role Cuba plays with regard to international cooperation," he said.

The former chancellor was asked how the arms race can be controlled.

He replied: There are two ways: One, by directly exerting pressure on governments; the second, by increasing the public's awareness of the problem. The Socialist International has a committee on disarmament headed by the prime minister of Finland. It has met with leaders in Washington, Moscow, and the United Nations, and will soon go to India to meet with Indira Gandhi, in her capacity as president of the Nonaligned Movement, to discuss the problem.

Willy Brandt visited China some time ago and discussed disarmament with the leaders there.

He said: At this time it is not a matter of diplomacy, but of exerting direct pressure on governments. In this sense the Socialist International supports the call for disarmament that six heads of states from four continents have made.

Later, Brandt noted that there are other troublespots--such as the Malvinas--that if left unresolved can become factors that will expand the East-West confrontation.

Commenting, he said: All wars are dangerous, no matter how limited their scope because they can ignite the spark that will create a powderkeg. Last night former Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez made a very timely statement when he said that we should not only be concerned about the large conflicts, but we should also carefully examine all situations where conflicts exist, no matter how small. Of course, we in Europe want to do this. Second, in Europe, there is a growing awareness that crisis in Latin America affect European interests. A crisis for debtors is also a crisis for creditors. A third reason for European interest [in this region] is psychological. World War II ended 40 years ago, and many Europeans believe that they no longer have any reason to be more American than Americans themselves. Other

Europeans who have assumed a strictly European [words indistinct] want to depend on world powers.

Brandt ended his comments stating that a peaceful solution must be achieved in Central America. "That is what we are trying to do," he said, adding that this cannot be achieved without the United States.

CSO: 3348/90

PRESIDENT SPEAKS HIGHLY OF EUROPEAN VISITORS

PA102134 Paris AFP in Spanish 0247 GMT 9 Oct 84

[Text] Caracas, 8 Oct (AFP)—Venezuelan President Jaime Lusinchi, today expressed pleasure over the visit to Caracas of Willy Brandt, former West German Foreign Minister and Swiss Foreign Minister Pierre Aubert, whom, he said, "have a very good understanding of the Latin American situation."

He stressed that Brandt, leader of the Socialist International (SI) "understands the situation in Latin America, and particularly in Venezuela."

Lusinchi met today with Brandt and Aubert.

He said that Brandt "is a universal European who understands Venezuela's role in the concert of nations as a democratic country, with an established regime and economic and political perspectives."

He stressed that Brandt "is appreciated for his balanced position, a serious position of goodwill, without imperialistic intentions of any sort, and of course, because of his desire for peace and liberty."

Regarding the Swiss foreign minister, he said that he is "a very intelligent man" and stressed that this was the first visit to Latin America by a Swiss official of his rank.

After pointing out that Switzerland is a country strongly inclined toward integration, Lusinchi said that it has "a good understanding of Latin American affairs."

Willy Brandt, who arrived in Caracas on Sunday, is touring Latin America. He has visited Brazil, Argentina, and Peru and is trying to strengthen the peace efforts in Central America. In Caracas he touched on the subject during his meeting with Lusinchi, [words indistinct] he only said that "our talks continue." From Venezuela, Brandt will travel to Costa Rica, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Mexico.

Pierre Aubert, also on a tour of Latin America, said that Switzerland supports the peace-making efforts in Central America by the Contadora Group (Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela). Aubert travels tomorrow, Tuesday, to Bogotá and from there he will travel to Mexico.

VENEZUELA

BRIEFS

DELEGATION TO PRC--Lieutenant General Jose Antonio Olavarria, chief of the Venezuelan Army, and General Zhang Zhen, deputy chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, voiced their support in Beijing for strengthening of the friendship and cooperation ties between the armed forces of Venezuela and the PRC. Zhang praised Venezuela's foreign policy and its efforts on behalf of strengthening the unity of the Latin American nations and for a solution to the Central American conflict. Olavarria is heading a Venezuelan delegation on an official tour of the PRC at the invitation of the Chinese Defense Ministry. [Text] [Havana International Service in Spanish 1600 GMT 6 Oct 84]

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